

# **The numismatic chronicle, and journal of the Numismatic Society.**

London : Taylor & Walton, 1842-1903.

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098366016>

# HathiTrust



## [www.hathitrust.org](http://www.hathitrust.org)

**Public Domain, Google-digitized**

[http://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google](http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google)

We have determined this work to be in the public domain, meaning that it is not subject to copyright. Users are free to copy, use, and redistribute the work in part or in whole. It is possible that current copyright holders, heirs or the estate of the authors of individual portions of the work, such as illustrations or photographs, assert copyrights over these portions. Depending on the nature of subsequent use that is made, additional rights may need to be obtained independently of anything we can address. The digital images and OCR of this work were produced by Google, Inc. (indicated by a watermark on each page in the PageTurner). Google requests that the images and OCR not be re-hosted, redistributed or used commercially. The images are provided for educational, scholarly, non-commercial purposes.





Arc 13/3.1

Harvard College Library



FROM THE GIFT OF  
HAROLD WILMERDING BELL  
(Class of 1907)  
OF CAMBRIDGE













THE  
**NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,**  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.  
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOL. XI.

APRIL, 1848.—JANUARY, 1849.



*Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.*

LONDON:  
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 4, OLD COMPTON STREET,  
SOHO SQUARE.

SOLD ALSO BY M. ROLLIN, RUE VIVIENNE, NO. 12, PARIS.  
M.DCCC.XLIX.

1-3

Are 7313.1



Gift of  
Harold W. Bell  
of Cambridge



TO  
JOHN LINDSAY, ESQUIRE,  
BARRISTER AT LAW  
A LOVER AND ILLUSTRATOR OF  
NUMISMATICS  
THIS  
OUR ELEVENTH VOLUME  
IS  
INSCRIBED.



## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

On the Silver Coinage of Siam ; by W. B. Dickinson . . . . .	40
Pehlevi Legends on the Coins of the last Sassanian Kings ; by Dr. Julius Olshausen . . . . .	60
Pehlevi Legends on the Coins of the last Sassanian Kings ; by Edward Thomas . . . . .	121

## DISCOVERIES OF COINS.

Coins found in the Isle of Man . . . . .	180
--	-----

## MISCELLANEA.

Tables of French and Neapolitan Weights . . . . .	101
Medals of Milton . . . . .	103
Die of Oliver Cromwell . . . . .	103
Sir Isaac Newton's Report on the Gold and Silver Coin in 1717 . . . . .	181
Forged and Imitation Coins . . . . .	185
Henry Prince of Wales, Son of James I, a Coin Collector . . . . .	187
The Late William Staunton, Esq. . . . .	188
CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	104

20



CROTONA.



BAILEY  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

---

## I.

### ON COINS OF CROTONA.

THE detailed examination of various types of the coins of Caulonia and Selinus (Numismat. Chron. XXXVI. and XXXVIII.), has appeared to conduct us to certain principles of general application.

In the first place, we have seen that the Greek colonisers of Italy and Sicily carried with them to their new settlements, and tenaciously retained, the forms of religion and mythology, the gods, legends, and symbols, that had been in traditional favour with them in their original seats.

From the number of races or tribes that were frequently associated in a single colony, the transplanted worships and mythologies were proportionably numerous and complex. Which, from among them, became most important in the new locality, and most prevalent on its monuments, seems to have been decided — first, by the predominance of a certain tribe or leader; and secondly, by the native influences of the settlement,—that is, by the special harmony of some remarkable local circumstances with a particular branch of the imported myths. Which, out of a handful of various seeds, was destined to strike root and flourish most luxuriantly, was to a great extent determined by the chances of peculiar adaptation to the new soil.

VOL. XI.

B



To these influences, however, we must add one more; the new seats themselves were seldom without some mythical elements of their own, derived either from barbarous tribes, or from those earlier and obscure settlements that it is certain were scattered about the shores of the Mediterranean, in the obscure ages of Greek adventure, anterior to the great and systematic migrations that ensued on the Heracleid invasion, in comparatively historical times.

It was in accordance with these facts, that we found the types of the coins of the Greek colonies already examined, selected with reference at once to original tradition, and local propriety; and it farther appeared, in the instance of the Selinuntian coins<sup>1</sup>, that the various types of the same coin were not associated at random, but from common relation to a definite circumstance or idea, which is satisfactorily portrayed or illustrated between them. The reverse of the coin bears the companion-subject or complement of that of the obverse.

---

<sup>1</sup> By reference to the work of Col. Leake on Attic Topography, I find that the true bull of Marathon, vagrant and tamed, may be identified with much more certainty than is possible from the partial notices of Pausanias. The true stream that it represents is, I have no doubt, the torrent that, collected from the east side of Mount Parnes and the southern of Mount Phellus, waters or drains the great Marathonian plain. Leake describes the plain as very fertile, but inconveniently liable to inundations, from the two torrents that cross it, particularly that of Marathóna. See, at p.86, the extensive damage it still occasionally causes to houses, cattle, and corn-fields. That in antiquity attempts were made to manage its waters, but not with uniform success, appears from the interpretation of the proverb, *Οἰνῶτοι τὴν χαράδραν*. Demon. ap. Hesych.

After what we saw in the same paper, of the contests of the Megarians with their river bull, we may hesitate to accept as pure pragmatistical history, the notice of Aristotle, that Theagenes acquired his power, among other demagogic arts, by destroying the cattle of the rich in their pastures by the side of the river. Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 5.

We have to account, therefore, for the association of the types on a Greek coin, as well as for their individual origin and selection; and the clue to an explanation is to be sought in the original traditions of the people, and the natural characteristics of their city and its territory.

Such an analysis it is now proposed to extend to some of the remarkable coins of Crotona, to the symbolism of which it will be found that our previous enquiries lead us familiarly by the hand.

The appearance of Apollo on the Caulonian coin as a health-god, was illustrated by the connection of the town with Crotona, founded in accordance with the instructions of the Delphic god and with his promise of the blessing of health<sup>2</sup>. The inference thus relied on, that the god at Crotona was worshipped particularly as a health-god, is fully borne out by the coin, of great celebrity as a work of art, where he is represented shooting the serpent Python between the legs of the tripod, in the very act which again we had occasion (p. 2) to establish, by citation of authorities, as symbolical of healthful influence.

Moreover, on the reverse of this very coin, we have another sanitary emblem. Hercules, seated on his lion's skin before an altar (on some specimens a tripod), holds the lustral *thallos* bound with a *tænia*, and thus takes the place in relation to the health-god and the sanitary rite of lustration, that on the Selinuntian coins is occupied by the river gods, Selinus and Hypsas. Even on this coin, we may observe that the fish of the exergue typify a river, no doubt the Aisaros that flowed through the town, and furnished to Hercules the lustral or purifying waters.

---

<sup>2</sup> Among other functions of the Delphic Apollo, Lucan (V. 110) does not forget —*resolvit Aëra tabificum*.



The other rivers of the district, the Crathis and the Sybaris, are recorded as celebrated for salubrity.

The healthiness, which, according to the legend, was promised to the city by Apollo, and from which "healthy as Crotona,"<sup>3</sup> became a proverb, seems to have been regarded as having chief influence in promoting another cause of renown,—its athletic prowess in the games, which was equally proverbial. So, in Roman times, we find the stations for training the gladiators chosen, with particular regard to healthiness (Strabo, lib. v.). The Hercules of the coin is thus the type of the Crotoniat athlete, as the Apollo Pythoktonos is of its celebrated medical school, as well as natural salubrity. Hence, Milo of Crotona is said to have fought, in the great battle with the Sybarites, in the costume of the hero, with club and lion's skin,<sup>4</sup> and the other feats ascribed to him in the way of inordinate voracity (compare the performance of his follower, in Theocritus, iv. 34.), appear also to have been in emulation of the model of the gymnasium. Milo is spoken of as of enormous bulk;<sup>5</sup> the Greek sculptors aimed at perpetuating the characteristic beauty and proportions of the victorious athletes in the statues raised to them (Milo carried his own into the Altis); and from Milo himself may have ultimately been derived the somewhat over-fed contour of the hero on the coin. Such exaggerations in art are, however, symptomatic of degeneracy: they degrade style into fashion, and expose it to fashion's revulsions; and thus it is that we must account for the toleration by Greek eyes of those elongated proportions, of which some remarkable examples

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. p. 1821. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1087.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. xii. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 55.

occur on the coins, and that surprise and shock us in the Halicarnassian bas-reliefs.

The two sons of Jove are associated on another coin of the city; but in this case, Hercules is protagonist: he is represented as an infant, in the attitude suggested by the words of Pindar,<sup>6</sup> strangling the serpent, a parallel triumph to that of his brother over Python, to which his laureated head on the same coin may be an allusion.

As usual, the national proprieties of the type move abreast with the symbolical. Legend had much to tell of the personal adventures and exploits of Hercules in this locality, in the days of the old Italian hero, Croton; and the Achaian colony was led forth or reinforced by Heracleids,<sup>7</sup> though the traditions are sufficiently confused. Myscellus, the leader of the colony, is variously derived from Aigai and Rhype, in Achaia. Diodorus calls him an Achaian of Cretan extraction (Exc. Vat. p. 8). According to Ovid, he was a Heracleid of Argos. Pausanias mentions a Lacedæmonian colony sent to Crotona by the Heracleid kings; and one important historical illustration is furnished by Herodotus, who found at Crotona the divining family of Iamids settled in the enjoyment of honours and privileges; and we know, from other sources, that this family was in the closest connection with the Heracleid princes<sup>8</sup>; and a branch of them assisted the Heracleid Archias, the founder of Syracuse, who also aided the enterprise of Myscellus.

The Iamids, it may be remarked, traced the origin of their family, as well as their divining powers, up to Apollo, and were under mythical obligations to Hercules,<sup>9</sup> from

<sup>6</sup> Nem. i. 65.

<sup>7</sup> See Müller. Dorians i. p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Boeckh. Pind. Explic. p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> Pindar. Olymp. vi. 116.



whom the princes whose enterprise or ambition they seconded, claimed descent; the coins therefore associate the divine and heroic ancestors of the most distinguished colonists of the city,—the leaders of the migration, political and religious.

Another Heracleid is mentioned in connection both with an expedition to Crotona, and with Archias; this is Chersicrates, who expelled the Liburnians from Coreyra,<sup>10</sup> and whose name (Strong-i' th' hand) reminds us of the stalwart grasp of the boy on the coin.

These vestiges of tradition sufficiently explain the grounds on which Hercules was claimed as the founder of the city, and is declared as such, by the legend ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, *the founder* (Doricè), that accompanies the type of the hero, seated and holding the lustral branch. He has the same title on another coin, on which he is seen wearing his lion's skin and leaning on his club, in an attitude which may be traced through a series of modifications<sup>11</sup> till it appears in the perfected model of the Farnese Hercules. This appears to be the same type that is incorrectly described by Mionnet as Hercules strangling the lion. On the reverse is the head of Athene, his protecting goddess; as on another coin of fine execution, the head of the hero on one side is associated with the owl as her emblem on the other.

In the Hercules with the *thallos*, Eckhel at first recognised Apollo expiating, as Daphephoros (Ælian V. H.), the death of Python, represented on the same coin; he afterwards gave up this explanation, and admitted the seated figure to be Hercules, but at the same time un-

<sup>10</sup> Timæus ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1216.

<sup>11</sup> Panofka, Zeus Basileus u. Herakles Kallinikos; fig. 4.

fortunately altered his description of the other design to Hercules killing the Lernæan hydra. (Is there any example of a coin, not of the incuse series, bearing a double representation of the same hero or god?)

On other coins of the city, Hercules appears in a slightly modified attitude, reclining at ease on his lion's skin; his club rests on his left arm; and in his right hand he extends the scyphus, his peculiar wine-cup, as if about to drink or pour a libation. Both attitude and gesture correspond with those of Virgil's description of his Italian worshippers (*Æn.* viii. 176—278, and Servius *ibid.*), but still more exactly with the descriptions of the Hercules Epitrapezios, a small bronze figure, some foot in height, *gestamen mensæ*, made by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and celebrated by both Martial and Statius, and in very similar terms:—

Hic qui dura sedens porrecto saxa leone  
Mitigat, exiguo magnus in ære deus,  
Quæque tulit spectat resupino sidera vultu,  
Cujus læva calet robore, dextra mero,  
Non est fama recens, etc.—*Martial*, ix. 44 & 45.

—Mitis vultus veluti de pectore gaudens  
Hortetur mensas. Tenet hæc marcentia fratris  
Pocula; at hæc clavæ meminit manus: aspera sedes  
Sustinet occultum Nemæo tegmine saxum.  
Digna operi fortuna sacro, etc.—*Statius*, *Silva*, iv. 6.

When the poets wrote, the festive figure was in the possession of a certain dinner-giving lover of art, Nonius Vindex, after passing through the hands successively of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Sylla.<sup>12</sup> The obverse

---

<sup>12</sup> An attempt to connect two links of the transmission of the little work of Lysippus, is idle enough no doubt, but perfectly harmless; let us indulge ourselves, by supposing that Pyrrhus, a



of these coins bears the head of Heré, recognised at once by her stephanos adorned with *palmettes*, as she appears on the coins of Elis, Argos, and Plataea. Here she is Herè Lakinia, the goddess of the fane on the promontory west of the town, where she had a grove and sacred herds of cattle, and was honoured, not only by the Crotoniats, but by all the neighbouring cities. This extensive veneration argues very early origin for the sacred place; and there may have been some ground for the connection with Argos that appears in the tradition adopted by Ovid. The title of the goddess seems to point to Lacedæmon; but other derivations may be suggested for it, with equal probability.

On most of the coins that I have seen with this type, the expression of the goddess is peculiarly open and cheerful; but on one fine specimen in the British Museum, it is as decidedly the reverse, amounting to actual ill-humour—a positive scowl of anger or vexation.<sup>13</sup>

This twofold expression on the face of the goddess, who, in either case, is placed in relation to Hercules, is easily accounted for: she is the same goddess placated and incensed; and such contrasted feelings are the proper characteristics of her relation to both the sons of Zeus honoured at Crotona,—Hercules and Apollo. General

---

successor of Alexander, who, when in this quarter, respected the sanctity of the wealthy temple of Heré Lakinia, dedicated this *statuette* to the goddess, with an appropriateness that will presently appear; we may then account both for the representation of it on the coins of the city, and also for its passage, whether for a time or fully, into the hands of the Punic captain who dedicated in the same temple an altar to the goddess, which Polybius saw and made use of, inscribed in his own language and in Greek with an account of his exploits.

<sup>13</sup> ἀνυζομένη δὲ ἑοικας. Iliad. xv. 90.



legend represents her as both propitious and relentless. Persuaded by Athené, she even gave the breast to the son of Alcmené; and a temple at Lacedæmon commemorated one labour in which she did not oppose him: on the other hand, Homer tells how she pursued him to death.<sup>14</sup> With respect to local legend, Servius<sup>15</sup> relates that as he traversed Italy with the oxen of Geryon, King Lacinus refused him hospitality, and perpetuated his churlishness by founding a temple to Heré, as *noverca* in her persecuting character; yet other stories ran, that Hercules rested and refreshed himself here in the hospitable house of Croton (Ovid. *Metam.* xv. *init.*), as on the coins, whether reclining or standing he equally appears in an attitude of repose, and that even he himself founded the temple, having purified the place after the slaughter of the thief Lacinus. Local traditions, therefore, no more than the coins, represented the goddess as unswervingly vindictive; this agrees with what we learn from Pausanias and Theocritus of the connection of athletic exercises with the Lacinian fane, and the erection there of the statues of the Crotoniats, who were victorious at the games. The reconciliation of Heré to Hercules is a subject by no means unfrequent on the vases.

The *αργαλεος χολος* *Ηρης* is a symbolical subject of wider application than the particular myths, either of Hercules or Apollo, which, indeed, cannot be properly understood without reference to these more general considerations. So, Dionusos, Semelé, Æneas are equally objects of her spite and persecution.

Ill-humour is a leading characteristic of the Homeric Heré; besides allusions to her former vindictiveness and passion,

<sup>14</sup> *Iliad.* xviii. 119.

<sup>15</sup> *Æneid.* iii. 551.

in the action of the Iliad itself she is in as permanent a state of indignation as Swift or Rousseau.

What, it may be asked, originated such an ideal of the queen of heaven? Did Homer transfer to the goddess of Argos, habits of jealousy and petulance characteristic of the maxims and policy of the predominant Argive state?

I think a more probable explanation is to be found in her symbolical character. This is indicated by the ornaments of the *stephanos* already alluded to; the *palmettes* are emblems of vegetative nature and mark Heré as personifying its operations and vicissitudes, as indeed at Argos she has a common title with Demeter,<sup>16</sup> and common attributes, the pomegranate and cuckoo. The wintry season was symbolised in one class of legends by the disappearance of Koré and the melancholy mourning and retirement of her mother,<sup>17</sup> and similar significance is apparent in the legends, common in general outline to Argos, Bœotia and Arcadia, of the separation and retirement of Heré jealous and indignant, while returning spring, the renewing year, becomes her reunion with Zeus, the joyful and prolific harmony and marriage of the powers of Æther and of Earth.<sup>18</sup>

The Argives had many traditions of the mystic marriage, by persuasion or guile, of Zeus with Heré: it was the subject of an annual festival, and annually the goddess was said

<sup>16</sup> Prosumna. Paus. ii. 37. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Hom. Hymn. in Cer.—Karkinus ap. Diod. Sic. v. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus æther  
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes  
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus.

*Georgic.* ii. 325.

Heré is earth in relation to Zeus as heaven.

*Varro ap. Aug. C. D.* vii. 18.



to renew her virginity by bathing in the fount Kanathos (Paus. ii. 38). In Arcadia the goddess was worshipped as maiden, bride, and widow; in the latter character with reference to her temporary seclusion from Zeus, ἐφ' ὅτῳ. Here, therefore, the annual marriage was a reconciliation. So in Bœotia we find Heré again as the betrothed and the matron; and her festival commemorated how (again ἐφ' ὅτῳ, a sufficient reason) she quitted Zeus and retired to her temple at Eubœa, until her bereft spouse, well advised, gave out that he was about to wed Plataea, daughter of Asopos. The stratagem succeeded; in the midst of the nuptial pomp Heré reappeared indignant, and tore the bridal veil from her rival, when the discovery that the bride was a wooden puppet, turned her jealousy into laughter and merriment; she could not, however, resist burning the puppet, and she sealed her reconciliation by the institution of an annual bonfire, the festival of the Daidala.

Ill-humour and reconciliation, dejection and returning cheerfulness, are thus the common types of the alternating year; and I follow Eustathius and the guides he trusts in, with all my heart, in collecting the vestiges of this archaic symbolism enclosed unaltered, though fragmentary, in the Homeric poetry. Heré, in the first book of the Iliad, after an open altercation with Zeus, is cheered by her son Hephaistos; her smile (says the commentator, and I believe him) is a type of the tranquillity of the air, and Hephæstos is the principle of warmth dispelling the wintry σκυθρωποτητα, the very word to describe the expression of discontent on the coin. The fire-god pouring out the nectar makes a libation to æther (αἰθερὶ σπενδεσθαι), and induces the return of spring and spring-like weather, brightens, as



we should say, the face of nature—induces his mother  
*αποθεσθαι το σκυθρωπον.*

Still it remains a problem how ill-humour came so far to predominate over the cheerful aspect in the ideal of Heré,—a wide question to be followed forth by others. There is some appearance, that in her original character she was the representative of the wild powers of desolate nature preeminently, and that her milder attributes were the superinduced. Moreover, it was only by the gradual development of Greek poetry that her supremacy came to be admitted; and then it was a ready suggestion to place her in hostility to such personages as Leto, whose traditional claim to the hand of Zeus was, in particular localities, as good as her own.

We trace this suspected original character in the circumstances of her persecution both of Leto and Hercules: against the first she sent the serpent Pytho, doomed to fall by the arrows of Apollo immediately on his birth; and against the infant Hercules she despatched the pair of serpents, and thus the exploits of the brothers represented on the coins of Crotona are not only parallel to each other, but illustrate their common relation to the Heré of the neighbouring fane, Heré Lakinia.

The goddess also fostered, to plague her stepson, the Nemæan lion, and above all the snaky hydra of the Lernean swamp. In the terms of the traditions, Heré is said to foster or breed (*τρεφει*) these monsters,<sup>19</sup> as Amphitrite feeds, rears (*τρεφει*), or fosters the monsters of the deep. Serpents also, in Greek symbolism, are peculiarly Chthonian brutes; and thus everything combines to identify their patroness with the earth-goddess,—a proper Gaia.

---

<sup>19</sup> Hesiod. Theog. 314—328.

The Heré of Lanuvium appears on coins and other monuments accompanied by the serpent that is assigned to her by literary evidence ; and on a remarkable vase, published by Mr. Birch in the *Archæologia*, she stands opposed in arms to Hercules, and beside her, from the ground, as if protected by her or assisting her, rise two knotted groups of hissing snakes. These compound monsters carry us to another legend of the goddess, highly illustrative of her natural symbolism ; in anger at the independent production of Athené, she withdrew from the society of Zeus indignant, and thus, in her wintry phase, produced from her own resources the monstrous Typhaon or Typhoeus with a hundred serpent's heads,<sup>20</sup> giving forth all the wild sounds of brute and inanimate nature (*Hesiod. Theog.* v. 820. *Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll.* v. 327 ff.), and itself the parent of all the winds (*Hesiod. Theog.* 870), except Notus, Boreas, and Zephyr.

Gaia, in these legends, is visibly interchanged with Heré. In the *Theogony*, Typhoeus is offspring of Gaia and Tartarus, while Stesichorus assigned him Heré as his only parent; and in the Homeric hymn she calls him her proper child, and he is produced from the earth by a blow of her hand.<sup>21</sup>

This monster the goddess committed (hopeful foster child !) to the care of the Delphic Python,<sup>22</sup> who, on the coins, is shot through the tripod by Apollo : and when

<sup>20</sup> *Aristoph. Nub.* 336.

<sup>21</sup> The Argives, according to Clearchus quoted by Ælian, never killed serpents. Is this to be accounted for by the importance among them of the worship of Heré ?

<sup>22</sup> *Hom. Hymn. ad Apoll.* 354. 367. Apollo refers to Chimæra, as well as Typhoeus, as an ally of Python ; and the Chimæra occurs on a coin of Crotona.



we observe the tripods on the early incuse coins of Crotona, affording harbour for hissing snakes above and below, we may be justified in regarding them as pertaining to Gaia (the earth-goddess), who was anterior to Apollo as the presiding oracular power. Lucian notices the oracular voice of Delphi as proceeding from the serpent below the tripod (De Astrolog.). This was placed over a chasm in the earth, in the words of Justin, *ex quo frigidus spiritus vi quadam velut vento in sublime expulsus mentes vatum in vecordiam vertit, etc.* The phenomenon agrees with the mythic origin from earth of windy Typhon, and with the ancient interpretation of his nature, as personifying the natural gusts escaping from the ground with violence (Etym. M. v. Typhoeus), the *ventos loquaces* of Delphi alluded to by Lucan.<sup>23</sup>

Thus we find ourselves led back to our conclusions in the essay on the coins of Caulonia, that Tufphon of Aigai (whence also came Myscellus), the founder of that Italian city so closely connected with Crotona, brought with him from Achaia a fund of tradition and symbolism relating to the cult of windy powers.

The expiation required of Apollo for the slaughter of Python, may be regarded as a concession to the ancient veneration for the oracle under its earlier constitution; Ælian (de Nat. Anim. ii. 2.) preserves an account of a fane of Apollo at Epirus, where oracles or omens were obtained from serpents in precisely the same manner as from those of Lanuvian Heré,—serpents, moreover, which were regarded as descendants of the Python of Delphi.

---

<sup>23</sup> Ut vidit Pæan, vastos telluris hiatus  
 Divinam spirare fidem, ventosque loquaces  
 Exhalare solum, sacris se conditit antris, etc.

Pharsal. v. 82.



The ancestor of the divining Iamids was fostered by a pair of serpents.

On the coins of fine style with Apollo shooting Python, the side rings or ears of the tripod are oval, as in true perspective, on the incuse coins they are perfectly circular, but in some instances smaller in size than that in front, a rude attempt to give the effect of perspective. These ears, according to Eustathius, were called *σεληναι*, or moons,<sup>24</sup> evidently with reference to the triple phases of the moon; and thus the three crescents on one coin of Crotona are equivalents of the tripod that occurs so frequently; very frequently, especially on vases, the front circlet at least is filled with the radiated figure<sup>25</sup> which is the usual symbol of the sun; and as suns we may regard them as representing the Delphic period, the *trieteris*. The spirals introduced between the legs of the tripods resemble those that are seen on many coins of Agrigentum below the crab, and probably typify the element of water; with the serpent below and the circlets above, they complete a set of emblems appropriate to the Chthonian marine and astral possessors of archaic Delphi, Ge and her daughter Themis,<sup>26</sup> Poseidon and Phoibe.

<sup>24</sup> Eustath. p. 1816.

<sup>25</sup> Gerhard : Orakel der Themis.

<sup>26</sup> It is Themis who greets Heré, and observes her disorder on her arrival at Olympus, from the scene of conjugal deception and bickering on Ida; the equivocal expression of the spouse of Zeus—

ἡ δ' ἐγέλασεν  
 χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὄφρύσι κυανέησιν  
 ἰάνθη· πᾶσιν δὲ γεμισσηθείσα μετηύδα.—II. xv. 101.

agrees with what has been intimated of the symbolism of the occasion; farther than this, its intention, on which commentators are divided, appears to be best illustrated by the description of the shepherdess of Theocritus—

ὄμμασιν αἰδομένη· κραδίη δὲ οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη.—xv. 70.

In this view of the connections of the Heré of Crotona, there occurs abundant temptation to speculate on the origin of her title Lakinia or, what is more to the purpose, on the various significations that may have been assigned to it. To connect it with *λασκειν*, or *λακειν* to *shriek*, *roar* or *exclaim*, would well consist with the parent and patroness of Typhoeus, with the goddess who, in the *Iliad*, shouts with the brazen voice of Stentor,<sup>27</sup> whose howl, *μυκημα*, was fatal to the mystic Zagreus,<sup>28</sup> of whose indefatigable tongue the king of gods and men so bitterly complains. Compare the women shouting at her festival at Lakinion (*Theocrit.* iv. 36). The *Odyssey* gives us Scylla, *δεινὸν λελακυῖα*, M. 85. The mythus of Scylla was doubtless not more current at the Sicilian strait, than at Skylletion and the Skylletian bay, in the neighbourhood of Crotona and the Lakinian temple: and if we inquire for the common origin, in Greece proper, of both local names, we most naturally revert to the Scyllæan promontory of Trœzene, in the neighbourhood of the fane of Heré at Hermione, seat of the legend of her union with Zeus "in windy weather" (*Aristotel. ap. Schol. Theocrit.*); and of which the earlier name Lakereia, I venture to conjecture, is not unrelated both to Skylla and Lakinia.<sup>29</sup> Aristo-

<sup>27</sup> *Iliad.* v. 784.

<sup>28</sup> Nonnus, vi. 203.

<sup>29</sup> Trœzene furnished colonists to these Italian coasts, having taken part in the primitive settlement of Sybaris; *Aristot. Polit.* v. 2.; there is sufficient connection between Athens and Trœzene in early tradition, for us to ascribe to a similar partnership, the subsequent ascription of the founding of Skylletion to the Athenian Menestheus. When the Athenians restored Sybaris, as Thurium, their ancient colony Skyllacion, then under the influence of their allies of Crotona, seems to have assisted; and hence is to be accounted for the figure of Scylla that decorates Athené's helmet on the beautiful coins of the new city.



phanes (Plutus 39) employs the word *ελακεν*, for the oracular voice of Apollo.

We are even justified in referring, in illustration of this title, to the shriek of Persephone, carried off by Aidoneus,<sup>30</sup> having already recognised in our sulking goddess a parallel type of the ungenial year.

"With how scanty an expenditure of original invention," exclaims Sir Walter Scott, "is the world content to be entertained!" The same types of the gloomy and cheerful seasons, of the dying and reviving year, the hidden and reappearing vitality of nature, that in the productions of Greek imagination delightfully recur ever varied, yet ever the same, in the sorrows and consolations of Heré and Demeter, Persephone and Aphrodite, survived the lapse of ages and the wreck of civilisation, in all their inspiring freshness, to give embellishment and point to the squabbles of Titania and Oberon —

*Titania.* These are the forgeries of jealousy:  
 And never, since the middle summer's spring,  
 Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,  
 By pavèd fountain, or by rushy brook,  
 Or on the beachèd margent of the sea,  
 To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,  
 But with thy brawls thou hast disturbed our sport,  
 Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,  
 As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea  
 Contagious fogs; which, falling in the land,  
 Have every pelting river made so proud,  
 That they have overborne their continents:  
 The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,  
 The ploughman lost his sweat; and the green corn  
 Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard.  
 The fold stands empty in the drownèd field;  
 And crows are fattèd with the murrain flock;  
 The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud;

<sup>30</sup> Homer Hymn. ad Cer. v. 20.

And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,  
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable ;  
The human mortals want their winter cheer ;  
No night is now with hymn or carol blest :—  
Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,  
Pale in her anger, washes all the air,  
That rheumatic diseases do abound :  
And thorough this distemperature, we see  
The seasons alter : hoary-headed frosts  
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose ;  
And on old Hyems' chin, and icy crown,  
An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds  
Is, as in mockery, set : the spring, the summer,  
The childing autumn, angry winter, change  
Their wonted liveries ; and the mazed world,  
By their increase, now knows not which is which :  
And this same progeny of evil comes,  
From our debate, from our dissension ;  
We are their parents and original.

A curious inquirer might easily carry the parallel of classic and romantic mythology farther ; for my own part, I never read the *Dream of a Midsummer's Night*, with its bewilderments of love and jealousy, good-humoured and gay reconciliations, sylvan scenery, and nuptial close, without finding my mind carried back involuntarily to the descriptions by Plutarch and Pausanias of the festival of the Daidala, its origin, course, and conclusion.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

29th December, 1847.



## II.

ON A DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS, IN THE  
PARISH OF LITTLE MALVERN, WORCESTER-  
SHIRE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 27th, 1848.]

ON Monday the 15th of August, as Mr. Commissioner Mayne and his sons were out on a walk, they were induced to go in search of some geological remains, into a small quarry, on the side of the road leading from Little Malvern to Ledbury. While turning over stones, Mr. Cox Mayne came unexpectedly upon a considerable number of second brass Roman coins, which were lying, as appeared to him, loosely thrown together, a few inches under the surface at the top of the hill itself.

He immediately collected as many as he could without difficulty lay hands on, amounting to about 200.

The news of this discovery rapidly spread in all directions, and people flocked from the village to the spot, and were rewarded by obtaining a few more specimens (probably the same as Mr. Mayne had previously exhumed), before night-fall.

The following morning a man of the name of Fletcher came across from the parish of Colwall, on the Herefordshire side of the hills, and, on searching more closely, and turning over the soil, discovered another collection of similar coins enclosed in a light-red-coloured earthen pot, of undoubted Roman fabric, which he sold shortly afterwards, together with the coins, fifty in number, to Mr.

Warden, one of the Directors of the East India Company. Some portions of the pot, which has been much shattered, I imagine, in the process of extraction, have been preserved, and are to night, by the kindness of Mr. Warden, exhibited to the Society. It will be observed, that there still adheres to the sides of the pot, some of the verdigris which covered the coins when found in it. It may be presumed, therefore, that the whole number of coins thus discovered, did not fall far short of 300: for, besides those I have enumerated, which have been placed in my hands for the purpose of description, I saw some twenty or thirty in the hands of the gentlemen and cottagers in the neighbourhood; and the post-master of the village informed me that for some days after the discovery, coins were continually passing in letters through the post office. I found, on going down to Malvern, that it was very difficult to obtain a clear and satisfactory account of the order in which the discoveries took place, as almost every one to whom I addressed myself, had a different story to relate. I believe, however, that, on the whole, the above is as correct a version as it is possible to procure; while the appearance itself of the coins goes far to confirm the truth of the narration. It will be observed, for instance, that those which were first turned up, and which I saw myself at Malvern, were covered with soft green *æru*go which peeled off immediately on being touched by the point of a penknife; the result probably of exposure for a long period in the open ground, but at the same time in a dry pebbly soil: while those, on the other hand, which were found in the pot, had to a great degree resisted the effect of the weather, and retained the metallic lustre and brightness of the tinning, which most if not all of them had originally undergone.

Of these coins I have been able personally to examine



about two hundred ; and I will now lay before the Society the results of that examination, at the same time exhibiting some specimens from the hoard, including those first discovered by Mr. Cox Mayne, and those subsequently placed at my disposal by Mr. Warden, with this remark, that so far as I know, no coins have been found except of the five emperors, Diocletianus, Maximianus Hercules, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximianus, and Maximinus Daza, that they fall therefore within the period between A.D. 286—311. They are all of the size called *second brass*, and in excellent preservation ; and the larger part of them are so sharp and well defined, that they could hardly ever have been in circulation.

I have arranged them first chronologically according to the succession of the emperors, and secondly according to the types of the obverses and reverses.

In order to avoid the unnecessary space which I should have been obliged to take up had I described each coin separately, and given every reverse with its appropriate obverse, side by side, I have adopted the somewhat novel plan of mentioning first, all the legends of the obverses, then the legends of the reverses, together with the letters in the field, connecting the two together by Greek letters, which will refer from one to the other. I am aware that it may be objected, that by this means some inaccuracies may arise, and some little peculiarities of individual coins may pass unnoticed : but I have preferred running this risk, to extending individual description to a length which would be wearisome without producing any compensating result ; nor indeed is the class of coins of that value to give me any warrant for such extension ; for, beyond the local interest of their discovery, they do not possess much value, either from their scarcity, or from any history on which they throw light.

## DIOCLETIANUS. A.D. 286—305.

The coins of *Diocletianus* in this hoard, offer six varieties of legend on their obverse, as follows:—

- 1.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS AVG.— $\gamma, \kappa, \zeta, o, \pi$ .
- 2.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS P. AVG.— $\alpha, \zeta, \theta, \iota, \lambda$ ,
- 3.—IMP. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG.— $\beta, \gamma, \varepsilon, \eta$ .
- 4.—IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. AVG.— $\xi^+, \alpha^+, \nu$ .
- 5.—IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG.— $\delta$ .
- 6.—VIRTVS DIOCLETIANI.— $\beta$ .

Of these, the second is not mentioned in Mionnet, and is therefore probably uncommon.

Of the reverses, there are four varieties; as follows—

I.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Youthful male figure standing to left; in right hand, patera; in left, cornucopiæ; on head, polus; with letters in the exergue, arranged as follows:—

Field	$\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$	$\theta$	$\frac{\text{S—F}}{\text{---}}$
Exergue.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{TR} \end{array} \right.$		$\frac{\text{ITR}}{\text{---}}$
			$\frac{\text{C—F}}{\text{---}}$
$\alpha$	$\frac{* \text{---} *}{\text{---}}$	$\iota$	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{S—F}}{\text{---}}$
$\beta$	$\frac{\text{A—}^*}{\text{---}}$	$\kappa$	$\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{S—K}}{\text{---}}$
$\gamma$	$\frac{\text{B—}^*}{\text{---}}$	$\lambda$	$\frac{\text{PTR}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{S—K}}{\text{---}}$
$\delta$	$\frac{*}{\text{---}}$	$\mu$	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{ST}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{A—}}{\text{---}}$
$\varepsilon$	$\frac{\text{A—}}{\text{---}}$	$\nu$	$\frac{\text{LP}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{B}}{\text{---}}$
$\zeta$	$\frac{\text{A—F}}{\text{---}}$	$\xi$	$\frac{\text{LP}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{B}}{\text{---}}$
$\eta$	$\frac{\text{S—F}}{\text{---}}$	$\xi^*$	$\frac{\text{PL}}{\text{---}}$
	$\frac{\text{TR}}{\text{---}}$		$\frac{\text{A}}{\text{---}}$
		$o$	$\frac{\text{PLC}}{\text{---}}$



B  
 ———  
 PLC

\* —  
 ρ ———  
 ST

Of these coins the only ones which exhibit any peculiarity, are the first type, marked  $\alpha$ , on the left of the field of which there is an altar, on which the Genius is pouring a libation from a patera, and the sixth type, marked  $\beta$ , which is a very fine and well preserved helmeted bust of the emperor, turned to the right, holding in his right a globe, on which is a figure of victory.

2. *Obv.*—as No. 3.

MONETA SACRA AVGG. ET. CAESS NN. Figure of the goddess Moneta standing to left, holding in her right hand, a pair of scales; in her left, cornucopiæ; in the field to the right, star; in exergue, PTR.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 3.

MONETA S. AVGG. ET. CAESS NN. Moneta as in last. Star in field; in exergue, BTR.

4. *Obv.*—Illegible.

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QUIES AVGG. Two females standing in front.

### MAXIMIANVS HERCULES.

#### *Obverses.*

- 1.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. CAES.— $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\chi$ .
- 2.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. CS.— $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\sigma$ .
- 3.—MAXIMIANVS NOB. C.— $\theta$ ,  $\kappa$ .
- 4.—MAXIMIANVS NOBIL. C.— $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ .
- 5.—C. VAL. MAXIMIANVS NOB. C.— $\nu^*$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\sigma$ .
- 6.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS AVG.— $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\sigma$ .
- 7.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. AVG.— $\alpha$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\omega\gamma$ .
- 8.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.— $\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda$ .
- 9.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS AVG.— $\rho$ .
- 10.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. AVG.— $\alpha$ .
- 11.—IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P. F. AVG.— $\omega\beta$ ,  $\omega\delta$ .
- 12.—P. M. MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO.—No. VII.

With the following *Reverses*: —

I. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

$\alpha$	Field A Exergue R	$\mu$	S—F ITR
$\beta$	A—* TR	$\nu$	SF ITR
$\beta^*$	A—* PTR	$\nu^*$	SF —
$\gamma$	B—* TR	$\xi$	S—F ITR
$\delta$	A—F TR	$\omicron$	A PL
$\epsilon$	B—F TR	$\pi$	—? PLC
$\zeta$	B TR	$\rho$	A PLC
$\eta$	B— TR	$\sigma$	—B PLC
$\theta$	G TR	$\tau$	—* PLC
$\iota$	—* PTR	$\upsilon$	D PLC
$\kappa$	S—F PTR	$\phi$	? B
$\lambda$	S—F HTR	$\chi$	B *SIS



S—r  
 $\omega$  ———  
 no exergue.

no field.

$\omega a$  ———  
 sr

A ———  
 $\omega \beta$  ———

s

\*  
 $\omega \gamma$  ———  
 P

———  
 $\omega \delta$  ———  
 LA

2. *Obv.*—Same as No. 11.

SACRA MONET. AVGG. ET CAES. NOSTR. Moneta standing to left; in her right, scales; in her left, cornucopiæ; in exergue, sr.

*Obv.*—As No. 2.

R.—As last; but in exergue, st.

*Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—As last; in exergue, tr?

3. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

MONETA S. AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in field, s—f; in exergue, itr.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

R.—As last, but in field to right, a star; in exergue, btr.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

R.—Moneta as before, but in field s—r; in exergue, itr.

4 *Obv.*—Same as No. 1.

R.—MONETA SACRA AVGG. ET. CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in field to right, a star; in exergue, btr.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 11.

R.—SACRA. MON. VRB. AVGG. ET. CAESS. NN. Moneta as before; in exergue, s.

*Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in field, a star; in the exergue, ao.

6 *Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—SALVIS AVGG. ET CAESS. FEL. KART. A female figure standing in front, which is either Salus or Karthago, holding in her right hand fruit, in her left, corn; in exergue, A.

*Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in exergue, B. On this coin, the figure has fruit apparently in both hands; and that in the left, is exactly like the *Banana*.

*Obv.*—As No. 1.

R.—As last, but in exergue, N.

7 *Obv.*—As No. 12.

R.—PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES. AVGG. Two female figures standing opposite to one another; in the right hand of the one to the right, flowers; and in her left, the hasta pura.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, A.D. 292—305.

*Obverses.*

- 1.—CONSTANTIVS NOBIL. C.—a or δ, ρ, σ, χ, ψ.
- 2.—CONSTANTIVS NOBIL. CAES.—ζ, ωγ.
- 3.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.—ε, κ, ωβ.
- 4.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.—β, γ, θ, ι, λ, ν, ο, υ, ω, ωα.
- 5.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.—κ, π, ρ.
- 6.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS N. C.—with reverse, No. IV.
- 7.—CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. S.—ε.

*Reverses.*

1.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

on field A — \*  
α —————  
exergue T

β —————  
A — Γ  
TR

γ —————  
A ———  
TR —

δ —————  
A — \*  
TR

ε —————  
A  
PLC

ζ —————  
B  
TR

η —————  
B  
?

θ —————  
B  
LO



$\iota$	$\frac{B-\Gamma}{TR}$	$\tau$	$\frac{S-F}{ITQ}$
$\kappa$	$\frac{B-*}{TR}$	$\nu$	$\frac{*}{ST}$
$\lambda$	$\frac{B}{PL}$	$\phi$	$\frac{S-K}{\Pi TR}$
$\mu$	$\frac{B}{C}$	$\chi$	$\frac{S-F}{ITR}$
$\nu$	$\frac{B}{LP}$	$\psi$	$\frac{S-F}{PTR}$
$\omicron$	$\frac{C-\Gamma}{TR}$	$\omega$	$\frac{S-F}{ITQ}$
$\pi$	$\frac{-\Gamma}{no\ exergue.}$	$\omega\alpha$	$\frac{C-\Gamma}{R}$
$\rho$	$\frac{S-F}{ITR}$	$\omega\beta$	$\frac{-B}{PLC}$
$\sigma$	$\frac{S-F}{PT\Omega}$	$\omega\gamma$	$\frac{\Lambda-*}{PTR}$

2 *Obv.*—Same as No. 4.

R.—SACRA MONET. AVGG. ET. CAESS. NOSTR. Moneta standing with scales in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left; in the exergue, PT.

*Obv.*—Same as last, but in the exergue TT.

3 *Obv.*—Same as No. 5.

R.—MONETA S. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Moneta standing with scales in right hand, and cornucopiæ in left; in the field to right a star; in the exergue, ATR.

4 *Obv.*—Same as No. 6.

R.—MONETA. SACRA. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Type of field and exergue, same as last.

5 *Obv.*—Same as No. 4.

R.—SACRA MON. VRB. AVGG. ET CAESS. N. N. Usual type of Moneta; in field to right, a star; in exergue, AT.

6 *Obv.*—Same as No. 2.

R.—FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG. N. N. Fortuna standing to left; in right hand, patera; in left, cornucopiæ; in exergue, TR?

### GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, A. D. 305—311.

*Obv.*—GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. NOB. C. Head to right laureate; on bust armour.

R.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual type of Genius standing to left.

### MAXIMINUS DAZA, A. D. 305—313.

*Obv.*—MAXIMINVS NOBILIS C. Head of Maximinus to right, laureate; on bust, paludamentum.

R.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual type of Genius standing, to left.

Though so numerous, and so well preserved, any one who has made Roman coins his study, will be aware, that the hoard does not contain any coin remarkable, either for the peculiar rarity, or the excellence of its type. The coins of this class and period differ chiefly in the letters which are found in the fields and exergues of their reverses; and for this reason I have paid some attention to the enumeration of them in the preceding lists. This remark is borne out by an examination of the specimens in question. Thus, out of above two hundred coins, I have met with about one hundred and thirty varieties, of which the large proportion belong to Diocletianus, Maximianus, and Constan-



tius Chlorus, one to Galerius Maximianus, and one to Maximinus Daza, but which present, at the same time, only twenty-seven varieties in the legends of their obverses, the other points in which they differ being confined to the letters in their fields and exergues.

There is not much variety in the places to whose mints these coins are in all probability attributable. The letters on the exergues give only TR. P. TR. S. T. Trevisis, Pecunia Trevisensis, Signata Trevisis, for Tréves; L. P., Lugduni, or Londini Pecunia, or Londini Percussa, P. L. C. Pecunia Lugdunensis, or Pecunia Londinensis Civitatis; A. Q. for Aquileia; SIS. for Siscia, in Pannonia (now *Sissek*); and in one or two instances, FEL. KART. for Felix Karthago. I know that it may be objected against this interpretation, that it is not likely that coins struck at places so far apart should be found together in a remote district; and that it is not improbable that the late emperors struck at one place several sets of coins, with the names of different places of mintage upon them: but I think the evidence in favour of particular towns is abundantly sufficient, when it is considered in its full extent. Thus, at first sight, there seems little reason to doubt, that CONS. and KART. stand for Constantinopolis and Karthago respectively, though in reading SIS. for Siscia, the initial letters of an obscure town in Pannonia, there is some reason for hesitation. In the same way, I am inclined to think, that the individual letters which occur on the fields, such as A, B, I, etc. refer to the mints established in the respective towns mentioned in the exergues, or are the private marks of those towns. In one instance, where an H occurs on the obverse, under the neck of the emperor, it is possible that the name of the moneyer himself may be referred to. This explanation of the letters, which are found on the reverses of the coins of

the late emperors, has been held by the majority of numismatists. Eckhel, the father of modern numismatics, has discussed this question at some length, in the *Doctrina Numorum*, vol. viii. c. xvi. § 6. De numis inferioris ævi. He has shewn that the practice of putting the name of the town upon the coins arose under Aurelianus; and he has quoted passages from several ancient authors, who mention many of the monetary towns. He thinks, however, there is some difficulty in supposing that the emperors of the West would have placed on their money the initials of the name of a rival city. Visconti, on the other hand, in his *Indicazione delle medagli antiche del Sig. P. Vitali* (Roma 4<sup>o</sup>. 1805), seems to have no doubt whatever about the interpretation which is to be given to these letters; and considers the letters on the field to be mint marks, and those on the exergue to denote the town from which they were issued, with this difference, however, from some other numismatists, that he makes the *p.* in all cases stand for *percussa*, and not for *pecunia*.

It becomes of some importance to ascertain, if possible, the probable origin of this deposit, and to determine, so far as we can, whether or not there was any Roman road, or station, at or near the spot where they were discovered. With this object in view, I have examined all the Itineraries which have remained to us from Roman times, and several old maps of Worcester and of the adjoining counties, but to no purpose. My inquiries have failed in yielding any thing that can be considered of real historical value, though there are many circumstances which render it exceedingly probable, that there may have been a station not far distant from Little Malvern. The position and the peculiar character of the hills themselves, "cropping out," to use a geological phrase, as they do from the surrounding



plain, and commanding a very extensive view over twelve counties, would point them out as a natural stronghold, whereby to maintain a settlement in the country, or to hold it against an invading army, though whether it ever was so occupied by a Roman army, cannot now be determined. The names of many places, indeed, at no great distance from Malvern, as that of Colwall, on the western or Herefordshire side of the hills (which in some old books is described as *Collis Vallum*), point apparently to a period when the Romans were the rulers of the country; and local tradition is rife of the existence of Roman camps in the neighbourhood, and of the discovery at various times of coins and other Roman remains.

On examining the Itineraries, it will appear that Malvern does not lie exactly upon any one of them, yet at no great distance from the XII<sup>th</sup> and XIII<sup>th</sup>, the first of which ran from Wroxeter, through Ludlow to Abergavenny and Caerleon, and the second through Cirencester, Gloucester, and Ross, to Monmouth. The latter must have passed within seven or eight miles of the spot, and the names of *Old Stretton*, *Church Stretton*, which probably derive their names from *Via Strata*, or the *Street*, a little to the east of Kenchester, render it not unlikely that a road may have run between Wroxeter and Gloucester, through Malvern. No doubt this is conjectural; but the great importance of Gloucester, during the Roman occupation of Britain, and the respective positions of Kenchester, Ludlow, and Wroxeter, render it not improbable.

No argument can be drawn in favour of a station from the present course of the road, which runs at the foot of the encampment where the coins were found, and which is now the main road from Worcester through Great Malvern, and Ledbury to Hereford. I had hoped at first to

have been able to prove that this road, if not itself ancient, occupied the site of an old road; but I can find no sufficient evidence on which to rest, and the earliest maps I have met with do not confirm this supposition. Had, however, the road been an ancient one, the probability would have been very strong that it owed its origin to Roman times, as one termination of it, namely that at Worcester, if not the other at Hereford, would have rested on a Roman town.

It is of more importance to examine into the claims which the adjoining hill, the Herefordshire Beacon, has to the character of a Roman camp; for if it can be shewn, that this remarkable cluster of earthworks is due to the Roman governors of Britain, there would be no great difficulty in accounting for the existence of a deposit of Roman coins only two miles from it.

Now it has been supposed by some, as is noticed by Mr. Nash, in his history of Worcestershire, to be, at least, of Roman origin, and perhaps the centre of the *Prætorium*, or Keep; an idea which seems to derive some confirmation from the name mentioned before, of the village adjoining, Colwall; some other Roman remains in Herefordshire having to this day the name of *Walls*, and the wall of Severus in the north, still retaining among the people, the title of *Gual Sever* (*Vallum Severi*); but, whatever may have been their original state, the present character of the earthworks bears no impress of Roman work, and differs indeed altogether from the shape of any known and well-ascertained Roman fortification. Its general shape approaches that of a long irregular ellipse, and the disposition of the ditches, two of which surround the central rampart, corresponds with that figure. The probability is, that, as has been suggested by one of the local antiquaries, it was constructed by the



Britons as an outwork when gradually driven by the Romans across the Severn; an use to which it is said to have been put in the autumn of A.D. 1405, there being good reason to believe that Owen Glendower, and the French forces under Sir John de Hengest, Lord of Hengueville, halted for some time on this hill, on their retreat from Worcester into Wales.

The district in which these coins were discovered was, up to the time of Constantine the Great, included in the province west of the Severn, called *BRITANNIA SECUNDA*, and was probably under the military government of the 2<sup>da</sup> *Legio Augusta*, whose usual head-quarters were at Caërleon on the Usk. There is, however, no additional evidence of this fact, from the coins themselves.

The period of history over which they extend, is one of peculiar interest as well to the student of Roman history as to an Englishman. Then, for the first and indeed the only time, Rome saw her empire administered by six emperors, in pretended, if not real, harmony; and England, under the rule of the gallant rebel Carausius, for seven years successfully withstood the whole power of Rome, and made her first essay at dominion upon that element, which has since become peculiarly her own.

The comparative numbers of the coins discovered attest the presence of the legions of Constantius, so long the governor of the island, and who closed his victorious career at York, A.D. 306; while the large number of those of Diocletianus and Maximianus Hercules, who were associated with him in the empire, demonstrate the length of their united reigns, compared with the short duration of that of Maximinus Daza.

The hoard which I have just described has caused considerable interest in the neighbourhood of Malvern, and,

the attention of people having been aroused, we may fairly hope for yet greater discoveries: I have thought it therefore worth while to add to my paper the following lists of recorded discoveries of Roman Remains in the three adjoining counties of *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, so far as they have come under my observation in the course of my enquiries.

- ABSTON.**—Bricks, etc. in great quantities. (*Gloucestershire*.)
- AMPNEY CRUCIS.**—Urns, burnt bones, ashes, and Roman coins of the Lower Empire, near the London road. (*ib.*)
- AUST PASSAGE.**—Coins, etc. on the east bank of the Severn. (*ib.*)
- BAGENDON.**—Some portions of the *Ermin-street* (Via Arminia) are here still visible. (*ib.*)
- BATSFORD, NEAR CAMPDEN.**—Bricks, etc. The Roman road to Cirencester (Iter xiii.) near here; and there is an encampment nearly entire of some extent on the adjoining hill. (*ib.*)
- BEACON HILL.**—In the parish of Haresfield A vase containing from 2000 to 3000 Roman coins of the Lower Empire, found lately, and now in the possession of the Rev. Edward Niblet, the vicar of the parish. (*ib.*)
- BECKFORD.**—On the borders of Gloucester and Worcester; quantities of coins of late emperors. (*ib.*)
- BEVERSTON.**—Roman coins, fibulæ, and a large stone statue, v. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- BIBURY.**—On the Coln; tessellated pavements, baths, etc. (*ib.*)
- BITTON.**—Remains of trenches, and other Roman works, which have been supposed to mark the site of the *Abone* of the 14th Iter. (*ib.*)
- BISHOPSTONE.**—Roman pavement Archæol. xxiii. 417—418. (*Worcestershire*.)
- BLOCKLEY.**—Probably a Roman town, from the number of coins and antiquities found there. (*ib.*)
- BOURTON ON THE WATER.**—Near the Foss road. A quadrangular camp, probably Roman, lies near it, including about sixty acres, now divided into several fields. Portions of a



paved aqueduct, with coins and other antiquities, have been found there. (*Gloucestershire.*)

**BOXWELL.**—Near the road from Gloucester to Bath, a tumulus of some size, which was opened by Mr. Huntley, and contained three urns with ashes. Near it, a place called South Warren, where Roman coins, human bones, and stones discoloured by fire, were found. (*ib.*)

**CERNEY, NORTH.**—An urn of blue glass has been found in a field called *Calmsden*, and near it a camp of considerable extent. (*ib.*)

**CHEDWORTH.**—At Letterscomb Bottom, in this parish, there is a Roman bath. The Foss road is two miles from this place. (*ib.*)

**CHERINGTON.**—In an arable field, called Hailston. A great quantity is of Roman coins, and walls of a large building. Archæol. xviii. p. 117. (*ib.*)

**CIRENCESTER.**—A statue in brass. Archæol. vii. 405, 406.; and in a garden called the *Leweses*, many coins, etc.; and in an adjoining field, a tessellated pavement, well preserved, and the upper part of a Corinthian capital. Archæol. vii. 406, and xviii. p. 124. (*ib.*)

**CLEEVE.**—Gold and silver Roman coins dug up. Archæol. xvii. p. 329. (*Worcestershire.*)

**CLIFFORD CHAMBERS.**—Roman coins. *Vide* Bigland, etc. (*Gloucestershire.*)

**CLIFTON HILL.**—Circular Roman outpost, with a parallel trench on the opposite hill, which were connected by several others with Oldbury. The name of *Castra Ostorii* has been attributed to this camp, and many Roman coins of the Lower Empire have been found there. (*ib.*)

**COATES.**—A strong camp, probably Roman. (*Worcestershire.*)

**COLEFORD.**—A vase, containing late Roman coins, was found in 1847. (*Gloucestershire.*)

**COOMB END FARM.**—In the parish of Colesbourn. Remains of a large building, and of a tessellated pavement, on a hill about a mile from the Roman road, between Gloucester and Cirencester. Archæol. ix. xviii. p. 112. (*ib.*)

**CONDERTON.**—Roman coins on the fields in great quantities, and hard by an oval lamp. (*ib.*)

**CROMALL ABBOTS.**—A tessellated pavement and an encampment, close to the Roman road from *Trajectus* to Oldbury. (*ib.*)

**DAGLINGSWERTH.**—Tessellated pavement, and the remains of foundations. (*ib.*)

**DINDER.**—Roman camp, commonly called the Oyster Hill. (*Herefordshire.*)

**DODDINGTON.**—Roman urns and coins. (*Gloucestershire.*)

**DORN.**—Roman coins in abundance, and two barrows. (*Worcestershire.*)

**DURSLEY.**—A fine Roman villa, discovered in 1847, by P. B. Parnell, Esq. (*Gloucestershire*)

**ELBERTON.**—A small camp, probably Roman, on a rising ground, overlooking the Severn. (*ib.*)

**ELKESTONE.**—Near the Foss Road. Various antiquities, some Roman. (*ib.*)

**FROCESTER.**—A fortification on a high hill, probably, from its name, of Roman origin. (*ib.*)

**GODBURY.**—A camp, probably Roman. (*ib.*)

**GLOUCESTER (CITY.)** Roman pavement found in 1796, in Eastgate-street, on digging the foundation for a new charity school. Archæol. xviii. p. 123. A full detail of other discoveries will be found in Bigland's Gloucestershire. (*ib.*)

**HAGLEY.**—Some fragments of Roman workmanship. (*Worcestershire.*)

**HARESFIELD.**—A Roman villa, partially opened in 1847, at a place called Rudge Dowler, near Stoke End, in this parish. A denarius of Theodosius the Great, and other relics, now in the possession of Thomas Niblet, Esq. of Haresfield. (*Gloucestershire.*)

**HENBURY.**—On Blase Hill, in this parish, coins of Vespasian and Constantine. Three discoveries have been made:—by Sir Simon Harcourt, Bart., in 1708; at Sea Mills, in the parish, in 1712; and at Blase Hill, in 1768. A deed of rental for some land exists of the date 36 Henry VIII. in which the place is described "in campo de Abone-l'own." (*ib.*)

**HENHAM.**—In this parish several camps, some probably Roman. (*ib.*)

**HOCKBURY.**—Roman coins. Archæol. xviii. p. 114. (*ib.*)

**HORTON.**—A small square lamp is mentioned by Leland in Itin. (*ib.*)

**KEMERTON.**—In the works on Bredon Hill, Roman coins have been found. (*ib.*)

**KEMPSFORD.**—Spear heads, and iron bits for horses, the latter probably Roman, were dug up in 1670. (*ib.*)



- KENCHESTER.**—Roman inscription. Archæol. xv. p. 391. (*Herefordshire.*)
- KINGS COTE.**—In the parish of Beverston, a statue of stone, and fibula of silver coins of the Lower Empire, tesserae of a pavement, and beads of glass. (*Gloucestershire.*)
- KINGS HOLM.**—A suburb of Gloucester. On the north-west side a large collection of Roman objects, camps, strigiles, curious statera, and great quantities of the coins of Claudius Gothicus, of some interest, as seeming to confirm the presumed Roman name, Claudiscastra. Archæol. viii. ix. and xviii. p. 121. (*ib.*)
- KINGS STANLEY.**—Two miles from this place. A Roman camp exists, where eight altars have been discovered and some coins of Alexander Severus. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- LASBOROUGH.**—Roman inscription in Bowldown field. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- LECHLADE.**—Roman bath inlaid with tessellated stones. The Roman road to Cirencester passes through this town. (*ib.*)
- LEMINGTON THE LESS.**—Many coins. The Foss Way from Warwick passes through the town. (*ib.*)
- Longborough.**—Vestiges of a Roman outwork may still be traced near the Foss Road. (*ib.*)
- LYDNEY PARK.**—Remains of a large Roman camp, with a hypocaust and other antiquities. Archæol. v. p. 208. (*ib.*)
- NORTHLEACH.**—In the hamlet of Easington, in this parish, a large double trench, supposed to be Roman. Gough's Camden. (*ib.*)
- OLDBURY.**—In the hamlet of Thornbury. Many Roman coins have been found, and part of some entrenchments, comprehending two sides of a square, still remain. (*ib.*)
- PAINSWICK.**—On a high hill, a place called Kimsbury, a square including three acres, and double trenched, in which Roman coins have been found. (*ib.*)
- PERDESWELL.**—A bronze torques. Arch. xxx. p. 554. *Worcestershire.*
- RODMERTON.**—On the north side of the Foss Way. Many coins and other Roman antiquities have been discovered here. Archæol. xviii. p. 113. (*Gloucestershire.*)
- SAPERTON.**—Roman coins found near a place called Lark's Bush. Not far from it the remains of a Roman camp. (*ib.*)

- Generated at Washington University in St. Louis on 2021-02-25 21:34 GMT / <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098366016>  
Public Domain, Google-digitized / [http://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google](http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google)



The following chain of fortresses, some of which have been mentioned above, extending along the edge of the Cotswould Hills, has been published by the late Lloyd Baker, Esq., in *Archæologia*, vol. xix.

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Clifton Down.                        | 13. Drake Stone, Hinchcombe Hill. |
| 2. King's Weston.                       | 14. Uley Bury.                    |
| 3. Blase Castle.                        | 15. The Beacon Hill, Haresfield.  |
| 4. Knoll Park, near Almondsbury.        | 16. Painswick Beacon.             |
| 5. Elberton.                            | 17. Church Down, near Gloucester. |
| 6. Oldbury.                             | 18. High Brotheridge.             |
| 7. The Abbey, near Alverton.            | 19. Crickley Hill.                |
| 8. Bloody Acre, Tortworth Park.         | 20. Leckhampton Hill.             |
| 9. Dyrham.                              | 21. Cleeve Hill.                  |
| 10. Old Sodbury.                        | 22. Nottingham Hill.              |
| 11. Horton.                             | 23. Bredon.                       |
| 12. Westridge, near Wootton Under-Edge. |                                   |

No doubt, many additions might be made to the foregoing lists; but I have thought so much would be enough to excite interest in the neighbourhood, and to induce those who may be resident in the localities mentioned, to make further and more systematic researches into the antiquities of their several counties.

W. S. W. VAUX.

*British Museum, March, 1848.*



## III.

## SILVER COINAGE OF SIAM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 23, 1848.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to submit, for the inspection of the members of the Numismatic Society at their next monthly meeting, a specimen of the silver coinage of Siam, called, I am told, a Tekal or Tickal, and weighing  $226\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

My notice was first drawn to the Siamese coinage by Daniel Haigh, Esq., of Leeds, shortly after the publication of a letter which I addressed to the President of the Numismatic Society upon the subject of African Ring Money and Jewel Currency, and which the society did me the honour to insert in their proceedings. Mr. Haigh very obligingly sent me Marsden's account of the Siamese coins; and a sketch of one, taken from that author's work, "Numismata Orientalia." As Marsden's sketch does not quite give the exact idea of the coin, I forward a sketch of the coin now exhibited.

Marsden says, "The specimens [of Siamese coins] in this collection, consist chiefly of lumps of silver of various sizes, and of a shape which it is difficult to describe in words. Tavernier compares them to hazel nuts, flatted semicircularly on four sides, but open like a horse shoe. The more simple way, however, of considering them is,



as cylinders cut in lengths of little more than twice the diameter, and then beat by hammering, until the flat ends nearly meet. They are also flattened at the side to receive two impressions, one of them heart-shaped, the other circular. Such is the general form of this singular species of money; and the weights of the several gradations in size, are 9 dwts.; 2 dwts. 10 grains;  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grains; and 8 grains; with a single specimen in gold, weighing 15 grains; but there is also a much larger specimen in silver, weighing more than two ounces, irregular and complicated in its shape, and stamped with a variety of characters."—(Part ii. p. 807.)

The society will notice in examining the coin, that there are in it evident traces of the penannular ring form, to which Tavernier refers, as above, by comparing the shape to that of a horse-shoe. This shape would seem to have relation to a general crescentic form adopted in metallic money in the East. Denham and Clapperton, in their travels, speak of a metallic currency in Loggun, in the interior of Africa, consisting of thin plates of iron, "something in the shape of the tips with which they shoe race-horses;" and various authorities have stated the currency of gold rings as money in Africa, such rings being generally crescentic or penannular; and in New Calabar, copper and iron manillas of the same general shape, pass current as an exchangeable medium. In the instances of the Siamese coinage, and the Loggun iron money, there seems so little utility in the degree of crescentic form adopted, that the inference, at least in my judgment, appears admissible, that some primitive form must have been had in view, the exact character and memory of which may have passed away, the traces only being continued from habit, in a less decided shape. How long the Siamese may have used this

peculiar form in their money, it perhaps would be difficult to discover; but there are elements in their coinage which might almost induce the idea of a very remote period for the era of the origin of their type. Before discussing this point, however, I would beg to refer to the statement of Marsden, as given, that there are divisions of the coin (Tekal), all, it is to be supposed from the account, of the same shape. Marsden's tekal is noted at 9 dwt. or 216 grains; the one now before the society weights 226½ grs. The divisions stated are not quite regular; but are sufficiently so to show, that the *fourth* (58 grains); the *eighth* (14½ grains); and the *sixteenth* (8 grains); of the tekal are intended. Perhaps some irregularity may be common; as in the unit piece of Marsden and in that now exhibited, there is a variation.

I refer to this form, and these divisions of the Siamese coinage, though with much deference, as evincing a ground for an opposite opinion to that expressed by a learned member of this society, for whose judgment I have the highest respect: I allude to Mr. Hawkins, the distinguished keeper of the antiquities in the British Museum. Mr. Hawkins says, in his article upon jewels in the Cuerdale find (page 199 of the *Archæological Journal*, for September 1847), "Various kinds of personal ornaments, such as armlets, fibulæ, rings, etc. have been called ring money; and it has been maintained that such objects were formed for the purpose of circulating as money; that they were adjusted to a regulated weight; and that their value was universally recognised as soon as they were looked at. We believe the whole of this notion to be erroneous; that all these ornaments and lumps of metal were negotiated always by weight, and never by tale." Mr. Hawkins subsequently compares the state of the Cuerdale ornament bullion to "the stock of a maker of money in the East at



the present day, where the process is to run silver into holes of various sizes made in a box of sand, or on the ground, according to the quantity of bullion the coiner has got to melt at any particular moment. These ingots are cut into small pieces, adjusted to weight, then melted into globules, flattened, and struck with the proper type for circulation." I have given the passage at length, as far as it applies to the ring-money question. In the Siamese money, we have a form of crescentic coin adjusted to a regulated weight, and recognisable as soon as looked upon. It is true there is a stamp upon these coins, upon which I shall speak hereafter; but in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII. p. 209, I have shown, from the *Heimskringla* of Snorro Sturleson, that gold rings were adjusted to the weights of half a mark, a mark, and two marks; and it is expressly stated, that there were given to Thorer of Steig "two gold rings, which together stood for a mark;" nor do I see any more difficulty in believing that these rings were recognisable as soon as looked upon, and were adjusted to a particular weight for such purpose, than in admitting the fact, upon the authority of Cæsar, that iron rings, adjusted to a particular weight, passed in Britain as current money, amongst other denominations, when that conqueror invaded our shores.

I would by no means be understood as considering these remarks of any conclusive weight in the question of ring-money; but I offer them as a contribution towards the general stock of argument, from which hereafter a judgment may be formed upon the subject.

That the Siamese coins cannot have been formed by cutting off lengths of a rod of bullion, cast, as described by Mr. Hawkins, in a box of sand, and then knocking them up into their present shape, I think will be very evident;

for it would be very difficult to hammer up such short lengths into their horseshoe-like form. On the contrary, the probability seems almost to amount to a certainty, that they have been cast. Should the Society be of opinion that the tekals have been *cast* into their *general* form, I think they will arrive at a different conclusion as to the *impresses* upon them, which bear a strong resemblance to the small figures *stamped* upon our plate, to indicate its degree of fineness. Whether one stamp refers to weight, and the other to quality, I am unable to judge. The two sides of the coin towards the upper part are flat, as is the lower or bottom part. Marsden says this is designed for the purpose of receiving "two impressions, one of them heart-shaped, the other circular." This is not the case; for two of the flattened sides have no impressions, and the heart-shaped impress, charged with something like small lozenges, is stamped upon the round part of the front of the coin. The flattening appears to have no direct reference to the impression; but to be designed for the object of preventing the coin rolling about when placed upon a level surface, as in the process of counting: and their surfaces are triple, as it would seem, for the more ready application of a flat side to the plane.

It will be perceived that the coin, notwithstanding the crescentic trace, and the flattened sides, presents generally an irregular *globular* form; and I would respectfully solicit the attention of the Society to this particular. The earliest coins which have descended to us, have been remarkable for a bossy, semiglobular shape. Why this form should have been adopted, has never been clearly explained. It certainly was not chosen from any peculiar fitness for coinage; for had such been the case, it would not so soon have been discarded as it was. We may, therefore, con-



jecture that there was, in this globosity, the remains of a shape of bullion money used before the invention of coinage. What the probable object of that form was, I will presently venture to suggest; but before doing so, will request the society to look at the Siamese coin as a whole; and then to ask themselves if they can conceive any form of bullion money to have been more likely to have led to the invention of coinage, in the shape in which we first find it, than that which this coin exhibits. We notice a mass of bullion of a specific weight, presenting the trace of a jewel form, and stamped with a small mark to indicate its weight and fineness. Could any transition be easier than from this globular, marked mass of bullion, to the bossy drachms and didrachms of Ægina? It would be but, in fact, the application of Greek taste in the conversion of the small rude stamp into the figure of some consecrated animal or well-known sacred symbol.

As to the globular shape, it appears not improbable that it was adopted for a purpose of convenience, in the collection and storage of money. It cannot be doubted, that in the period immediately before the invention of medallion money, pieces of bullion of a specific weight, and convenient size, were in regular circulation; and would require suitable receptacles for their collection and storage. Bags, in exposed situations, would be liable to injury and spoliation; boxes, therefore, we should readily suppose, would be more likely to be employed, especially in receipts of large amounts. What, from general reasoning, we should imagine would be the case, is known by a particular indubitable record to have been so in fact. In the 23rd year of the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, which, according to the admitted chronology, was about the year 856 B.C., a collection was made for the reparation of the temple.

Upon that occasion, the High Priest caused to be made a chest for the receipt of the money paid by persons as dues or offerings. This chest was placed at the door of the temple, "*on the right side*" as a person came into the house; no doubt for the convenience of dropping money into the chest with facility, with the right hand, as persons passed through the door. By reference to 2 Kings xii. 4, Exodus xxx. 13, and Leviticus xxvii. 2—27, it will be found, these dues varied from half a shekel to fifty shekels, accordingly as they arose from the capitation tax, or from vows. In the passage 2 Kings xii. 9, it is said, "the priests that kept the door" put the money into the chest; but in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. xxiv. 10, it is stated, that "all the princes and all the people cast into the chest" their moneys. Both passages are correct; for dues would be received and deposited by the "priest," and offerings by the donors. The account of the receipt of these dues and offerings, which, received from a whole nation into one depositary, would necessarily cause a hurried collection, gives us incidentally a description of the exact manner in which that collection was made, so as to combine celerity with security. The priest or his officer "*bored a hole*" in the lid of the chest," through which hole the half shekels, and shekels, were cast by the priests or people.

The above incidental account of a great national money payment, at a period about, or immediately preceding the era of the invention of medallie money, may give us an insight into the probable shape of bullion money generally at the time.

The weight of the shekel is stated by Arbuthnot, to have been, as near as may be, 219 grains; and by looking at the Siamese coin before the Society, it will be seen, that a mass of silver of that weight ( $226\frac{1}{2}$  grains) could easily, in



a globular shape, be cast through a round hole bored in the lid of a chest. That the word translated *bored*, in our version, is rightly rendered, and means such a round perforation as would be effected by what we term boring instruments, may be seen by reference to the word נָקַב (p. 426) in Lee's Hebrew Lexicon, where the author gives his view of the meaning as "*pierced, bored through, bored a hole.*"

I would wish to be permitted to say a few words upon the understood name of the Siamese coin, Tekal, or Tickal. By reference to the book of Daniel v. 27, it will be seen, that *tekel*, means to *weigh*; the same idea as conveyed by the word *shekel*; see in Lee, (p. 629) תָּקַל Chald. *weighed*; שָׁקַל *weight, a shekel*, Hebr. (p. 613), שָׁקַל *weighed* (614). It will be recollected that the name of one of the earliest coins struck by the Greeks, or Greek colonists, the Stater, bears in the Greek language the same import, *weighed*, or *weight*. From the name of the Siamese coin, *Tekal*, and the close approximation of its *weight* to that of the *shekel*, a supposition may, I think, be formed, that this type of money may have been handed down from a very remote period; a supposition by no means violently opposed to the long-enduring, slightly-changing habits of the East. If this be held as not unlikely to be the case, the examination of the coin offered for inspection may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society, and may tend to cast a possible light upon the form of bullion money antecedently to the invention of medal money; an invention which, perhaps, was not a sudden and complete change from weighed bullion to regular coin, but was preceded by steps which gradually led to coinage; steps of which no record has descended to us. With a view to call attention to this latter interesting investigation, not suffi-

ciently, it seems to me, pursued by numismatic students, I have presumed to offer these passing observations upon a singular form of money to the Numismatic Society, hoping that they may induce the researches of more experienced and abler minds than my own, in this little trodden field of numismatic inquiry.

Soliciting the pardon of the Society for this trespass upon their time, and requesting you personally to accept my thanks for any trouble I may have occasioned you, allow me to assure you, that I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. B. DICKINSON.

Leamington, 20th March, 1848.

John Yonge Akerman, Esq.,

Foreign Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London.

#### IV.

#### NOTICE OF A MEDAL OF THE CHEVALIER D'EON.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, December 23rd, 1847.]

Bust to the right of the Chevalier D'Eon.

*Legend.*—MADAME D'EON.

*Rev.*—Has this inscription—

AVOCAT AU PAR<sup>T</sup> DE PARIS, DOCT<sup>R</sup> EN D<sup>T</sup> CAPIT<sup>L</sup> DE  
DRAG<sup>S</sup> CHEVALIE : DEL R. ET M DE ST. LOU<sup>S</sup> MINESTRE  
DE LA COUR DE FRANCE EN ANGLITERRE GENTILHOME  
D'AMBASSADE EN RUSSIE 1777.

I BEG to introduce to the notice of the members of the Numismatic Society, a medal of the long-forgotten Chevalier D'Eon; with a very brief sketch of the history of that celebrated person, and extracts from the French of "Letters, Memoirs, &c., of the Chevalier D'Eon, Minister



Plenipotentiary from France to the king of Great Britain.' Many of these letters are written by the Duc de Praslin of that day, a name, which has at this time excited a very painful interest.

The Chevalier was born on the 5th of October, 1728, and was baptized the 7th of the same month in the parish of Notre Dame; he was one of several children, all of whom were married into good families. He followed his studies at Mazarin College. He made rapid progress, and was soon in a state to pass the Ecoles de Droit. He followed this new career with the same rapidity of success. He had already passed the first degrees which lead to a doctorate, but being too young for such pretensions, a dispensation of age was obtained, and he was received as a doctor of civil law, and advocate in the parliament of Paris. He cultivated a taste for literature; he associated the political with the fine arts, and published several works. He was taught by the most celebrated fencing-masters to handle the sword; and during his leisure hours he left his study, and went to the hall of the academy to draw with the most skilful. He had just distinguished himself in his political career, and desired to gain glory in the army. He joined the dragoons of Autechamp, and fought with great gallantry, and was wounded in the head and thigh. He was sent on a mission to Russia, and conducted himself in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the king of France; and while in England, his conduct for some time gave general satisfaction. His obstinacy in not giving up his appointment, when ordered to do so by the king of France, was his ruin; and he lost his best friends in France by having printed the letters which he had received from them: indeed, this gave such offence to the Count de Guerchy, that

the Chevalier was tried for a supposed libel against the French ambassador, by a special jury of the county of Middlesex in the King's Bench, Westminster, 9th July, 1764. The defendant not thinking proper to make any defence, was found guilty. Little I believe was known of him from this time; but he continued to live in London, and at last died in some street of little note. He appears to have been a man of great talent, witty, satirical, and sometimes humorous, with a great portion of conceit. He was not used well by those who employed him; for he complained bitterly of the want of means to keep up any degree of consequence suited to his station, and that he had spent his private fortune in the public service. He writes a letter to the Comte de Guernsey thus:—"I have the honour to send you herewith my private correspondence with the Dukes of Nevers and Praslin, and M. de Sainte Foy, chief clerk for foreign affairs, on the subject of the uncertainty and injustice I experience with regard to my ministerial position, of my expense at the court of Great Britain, and of my unjust recall (*rappel griffé*)."

He writes to the Duke de Praslin:—"M. le Duc de Nevers orders me to write to you here two words, to beg of you to fix as soon as possible a salary suitable to my appointment, and to point out to you at the same time, that the 4th of June is the birth-day of the king of England, and against that day, I must have a new suit, either laced or embroidered, for the resident of France, and the same also for the queen's birth-day. With my salary as secretary I cannot afford to drink small beer, and the dragoon, your servant, drinks only wine. Whilst they last, gala or not, I shall go on with my uniform till death or dishonour overtake me; my best fortune is my zeal for the king." And again to M. St. Foy:—



"I shall write on Monday to MM. the Duc de Praslin, and Nevernois, to beg of them as I now do of you, to have my salary fixed, and in a manner suitable to the country in which I live. I shall not be unreasonable, I wish to please M. de Guerchy and yourself, M. le Duc de Praslin above all; but my means do not permit me to make war against my expenses in time of peace. During the last ten years that I have laboured, I have incurred debts, I have ruined my health." And lastly he writes to the Duc de Praslin:—

"I have already had the honour of presenting to you several memorials relating to my first journey into Russia, and particularly that by my letters of the 5th June, with notes referring to it, which establish the justice of my former claim. You had the goodness to lead me to hope for this payment when I went to Paris to carry the Ratification of Peace, but you had not the goodness to realize those hopes. For nearly nine years, I have regularly paid the interest of about 10,000 Livres, which I borrowed to serve the King. It is very desirable for me to entreat you to allow me to retire into my own country for the benefit of my health."

The Duc de Praslin answers this letter rather severely, Paris 17th Sep. 1763:—

"I could scarcely have believed, Sir, that the title of Minister Plenipotentiary could so easily have made you forget the *point*<sup>1</sup> from which you started; and I had no reason to expect you would augment your pretensions in proportion as you receive new favours. In the first place, I did *not* lead you to expect the reimbursement of your first journey into Russia, since thereof, my predecessors, of whom you made the same demand, apparently did not consider it legitimate. Secondly, you complain to me of

---

<sup>1</sup> This word is played upon in D'Eon's letter.

vain promises, made to you; and that assuredly is not the manner I act towards you. You set out in uncertainty as to the destiny which awaited you here; and I promised you the pension which has been granted you. At last you came to bring the Ratification from England. If this picture offer you subjects of dissatisfaction, I own to you I shall be obliged to give up employing you, for fear of failing in the means of recompensing your services; but I rather presume you will be sensible of the truth, and that for the future, you will place more confidence in my good intentions towards you, than in representations which are without foundation. I hope, for the future, you will be more circumspect in your demands, and more careful in managing the money of others, and that you will endeavour to be as useful to M. de Guerchy, as you have been to M. the Duke of Neversois.

“ PRASLIN.”

In answer to this severe letter, M. D'Eon writes to M. le Duc de Praslin:—

“I have received your letter of the 17th, and can only look on it as the result of anger. I earnestly entreat you not to attribute to want of respect the necessity which obliges me to answer your letter in columns.<sup>2</sup> As soon as I was informed, M. le Duc, that in spite of myself I was to be appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, I had the honour of writing to the Duc de Neversois that I looked on this title rather as a misfortune for me than as a benefit, because in all things we must look to the end. At a very early age I left the ‘*Point Tonnerre*,’ my country, where I have a little

---

<sup>2</sup> The letters of the Duke of Praslin are on one side; answers to them on the other. D'Eon's answers, condensed, are only given.



estate, and a house at least six times as large as that occupied by the Duc de Nevers in London. In 1756, I set out from the '*Point*' Faubourg St. Germain, to make three journeys into Russia and other courts of Europe, to join the army, to come to England, to be the bearer of four or five different treaties to Versailles, not as a courier but as a man who had worked at them and contributed to them. I have often made these journeys, though sick to death, and with a broken leg; but in spite of that, I am ready, if Fate decrees it, to return to the '*Point*' whence I started. I shall there find again my former happiness, my new is only ideal; and I often regret the pleasures which I did not value whilst enjoying them. The '*Points*' from which I did set out, were to be a Gentleman, an Officer and Secretary to the Embassy, all which '*Points*' lead to be minister in foreign courts. What is there then so surprising that, after so long and hard an apprenticeship not unattended with applause, I should at length wish for freedom? But whatever may have been 'the *Point* from which I set out,' the King, my master, having chosen me to represent him, I ought to have forgotten all, and should have only before my eyes the '*Point*' at which I now find myself.

"By chance, or rather good fortune, I met you on the road; *you* coming to France for the congress of Augsburg, *I* going into Germany to rejoin the army. In passing, I had the honour of presenting to you a memorial, for I always have one ready in my pocket to give to the ministers I may meet on the way. You distinctly promised, the last time I had the honour of dining with you at Versailles, that you would take into consideration my memorial. There was no one at table but yourself, Madame la Duchesse de Praslin and myself, very sorrowful. At dessert, I had the honour of recalling to your memory all my

former memorials in this affair. By what unfortunate chain of fatality my first Muscovite caravan had not been paid, and how, during nearly eight years, I had annually paid the interest of the sum of 10,000 livres, borrowed for that purpose, without reckoning a part of my little patrimony that I had sold to be more productive. At this recital, the heart of Madame la Duchesse naturally softened, and with a voice as gracious as compassionating, she said to you:— ‘M. le Duc, you really ought to see that this poor M. D'Eon is paid. How faithfully he has served the king.’ You were also, M. le Duc, affected, and replied with kindness:— ‘Well, I will investigate all that. I would willingly make them pay; but how is it to be done?’ After that, you rose from the table, you rinsed out your mouth, and my account was no longer thought of: it was settled. The same evening, relieved of the burthen of the Ratification of Peace, I set out again for England, where I have ever since remained, overwhelmed with the weight of my little debts, which turns my brain and prevents my doing any thing well. I shall remember all my life, with as much gratitude as respect, the noble, gracious and generous manner with which you received me at Vienna. I shall only take the liberty of observing, that I was not unknown there, as the following anecdote will prove:—Despatched, in 1757, from St. Petersburg to carry to Vienna and Versailles, the accession, so much desired, of Russia, to the treaty of the 1st of May, and a letter to the Empress Elizabeth and to the Empress Maria Theresa, I arrived in the evening at the gates of Vienna, when they would not allow me to pass; and insisted on searching me, notwithstanding my passports. *I, who am rather determined or headstrong*, insisted on entering, and would not be searched. As I was not the strongest, I lay down at the gate. In the meanwhile, an officer of



hussars going his round on the ramparts, hospitably received me into his room. The king not having then an ambassador at Vienna, I wrote early in the morning to the Baron de Toussainte, to whom I was known, and who I knew was a particular friend of the emperor. Immediately an order came, which broke two of the custom-house clerks, and the officer was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. You say, I arrived sick at your house, and you restored me. It is true, M. le Duc, that I did arrive at your house at Vienna, attenuated with hard work, afflicted with scurvy and other maladies; and that, though suffering, I had travelled night and day in the service of the king. I arrived at your hotel at death's door; I was the Lazarus and you the mild Saviour. You restored and healed me at Vienna: and, on reaching Paris, I nearly died of weakness and the small pox. I confess that I did set out with uncertainty as to my fate at Versailles. Out of certain little sums which I had received, 1700 livres only remained, which I gave to my mother to console her in my absence. I am her only son; and I love my mother, who often writes to me, and entreats me to return and live quietly near her in Burgundy; and to leave the affairs of the great, where there is not any thing to be gained for little folks, but reproaches, bitterness, and grief."

In 1765 (March) a bill of indictment was found by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, against a foreigner of great distinction, protected, in most cases, in virtue of his employment, by the law of nations, for a conspiracy against the life of the Chev. D'Eon, on the evidence of the very person employed to carry it into execution. This event caused no small uneasiness to some persons in high station, till they reflected that the prosecution might be stopped by a *noli prosequi*, which it accordingly was.

June 13, 1765.—Chev. D'Eon was outlawed for not appearing to receive judgment for a libel on the Count de Guerchy.

July, 1777.—Trial before the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield respecting the sex of Chev. D'Eon. The action was brought by Mr. Hayes, surgeon, of Leicester Fields, against one Jaques, a broker and underwriter, for the recovery of seven hundred pounds, the said Mr. Jaques having, about six years ago, received fifteen guineas per cent., for every one of which he stood engaged to return one hundred guineas, whenever it should be proved Chev. D'Eon was a woman!

W. D. HAGGARD.

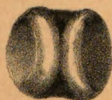
---

## MISCELLANEA.

WE perceive, by a catalogue now in circulation, that Messrs. Leigh, Sotheby and Co. are entrusted with the disposal, by auction, on the 13th of April, of the series of coins and medals formed by Capt. John James of Dover, who has relinquished collecting. The collection comprises some excellent specimens of English medals and coins, with some fine and well-preserved examples, in large brass and silver, of the Roman series. There are also a few numismatic books and priced catalogues of coin sales during the last century.







THE TEKAL.

Illustrating Article III.—Vol. xi. p. 40.



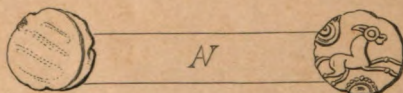
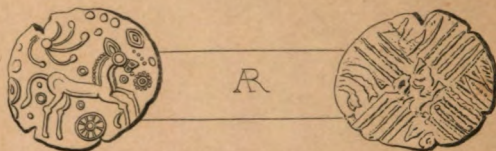




*J. Basire del. et sc.*





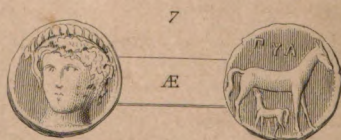


H.A. Ogg.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.







UNEDITED GREEK COINS.

J. Basire, sc.



# V.

## UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 27, 1848.]

### APOLLONIA IN CHALCIDICE.

No. 1.—Front-faced head of a Lion.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛ. in the four segments of an indented square.

AR. 3.  $25\frac{3}{10}$  grains. (*My cabinet*). [See plate, fig. 1.]

2.—Same head.

R.—Indented square; in two of the segments is a small dot. AR.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  $3\frac{8}{10}$  grains. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 2.]

3.—A sort of insect, perhaps an ant.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛ. within the four segments of an indented square. AR.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  $3\frac{7}{10}$  grains. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 3.]

The peculiar manner in which the letters are disposed on the reverses of the first and last of these coins, points out their probable origin to Macedonia, where alone similar examples occur, as on the money of Acanthus, Neapolis, Traelium, etc. An inspection of the workmanship leads to the same conclusion. There can be no doubt, also, that the letters are intended to indicate a city of the name of Apollonia.

I find there were two Apollonias in Macedonia, either of which might dispute the right to these coins; one in that region called Chalcidice, and the other in Mygdonia; the former, from its position nearer those cities using a similar method of legend, seems to me the best entitled to them.

## TARPHEA IN LOCRIDE.

Female head, to the right.

R.—ΤΑΡΦΕΩΝ. Naked warrior advancing to the right, wearing a helmet, and armed with a round shield and a short sword. Æ. 3. (*My cabinet*). [Fig. 4.]

The remote antiquity of Tarphea, a city of the Locri-Epicnemidians, is testified by Homer, who mentions a band of its warriors as being present at the siege of Troy; and who, united with other Locrian troops, were commanded by the famous Ajax, son of Oileus.

The types, both on the obverse and reverse of this unique coin, present servile copies of those on a well-known silver coin of the Locri-Opuntians: the warrior is no doubt intended to represent Ajax,—a subject equally appropriate to every city of the province.

According to Colonel Leake, the site of Tarphea is near the modern town of Bodonitza, which was fortified with a small castle by William of Champagne, in the year 1208.

## NAULOCHUS IN IONIA.

Youthful helmeted head to the right.

R.—ΝΑΥ. Dolphin: the whole within a circle formed by the windings of the Meander. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet*).  
[Plate, fig. 5.]

The initials and the presence of the Meander on this unique coin are sufficient proofs of the correctness of my classification.

Naulochus is only mentioned by Pliny (lib. v. cap. 29), who places it between Myus and Priene.

## BARATEA IN LYCAONIA.

ΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΑΝ ΟΕΥΗΡΑΝ C. Bust of Otacilia Severa, to the left.

R.—ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΥΚΑΟ. ΒΑΡΑΤΕΩΝ. Female seated on a rock, to the left, the modius on her head; in her left hand, a cornucopia, pointing with her extended right towards a small river genius at her feet. Æ. 6. (*My cabinet*). [Plate, fig. 6.]



The information transmitted to us of this city is exceedingly limited. From the coin, the only one yet discovered, we learn that it belonged to the community of Lycaonia, which agrees with the position assigned to it by Ptolemy (lib. v. cap. 6). This geographer writes the name Baratta, and in the Ecclesiastical Notices we find Barattha and Barathra. Hierocles is the only author who uses an orthography in accordance with the legend on the coin.

The female figure represented on the reverse of this unique coin, with the small figure swimming at her feet, is no doubt the genius of the city, which was probably situated on the banks of a river, the name of which I have no means for determining. Numerous examples of similar types are found on coins of Cilicia and of Syria.

#### PYLACAEUM IN PHRYGIA.

Laureated head, front face.

R.—ΠΥΛ. A mare standing to the right, suckling her foal. Æ.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . (*My cabinet.*) [Fig. 7.]

The present coin was brought to me from Phrygia, together with several others of various cities of the same province; and from this circumstance, connected with the truncated legend, I am induced to assign it to Pylacaeum.

Pylacaeum appears to have been a place of small importance, as its name is recorded by Ptolemy alone, who places it in Phrygia Major, between Themisonium and Sala.

The type of a mare suckling her foal is unusual on ancient coins, and only occurs in another instance, on a very rare coin of the Thessalian Larissa.

H. P. BORRELL.

*Smyrna, 1st February, 1848.*

*To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

## VI.

PEHLEVI LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE LAST  
 SASSANIAN KINGS, OF THE EARLY ARABIAN  
 KHALIFS, OF THE ISPEHBEDS OF TABERISTAN,  
 AND ON THE INDO-PERSIC COINS OF EASTERN  
 IRAN. BY DR. JULIUS OLSHAUSEN. COPENHAGEN,  
 1843.

[IN our notice of the work of M. A. de Longpèrier, on the coins of the Sassanian Kings of Persia (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 48), we adverted to the existence of numerous coins of a similar type, supposed to be copies or imitations of them, by the Arabs and the Indians, the inscriptions on which had not been decyphered. M. de Longpèrier announced an intention of publishing an account of these coins; but his intention has not been fulfilled; and we should still be unable to assign them their proper place in Asiatic history, had not the successful researches of Dr. Olshausen, of the University of Kiel, cleared up, if not entirely, yet in many respects, the obscurity with which they were enveloped. The results were reported in a small tract, which was communicated to the Oriental Society of Germany; and as the subject is of considerable curiosity and interest, and as it has been but little investigated in this country, though particularly rich in collections of the Arabic and Indo-Sassanian coins, we think we shall render a not unacceptable service to those who take an interest in this department of Numismatic science, and to such of our readers as are possessed of the coins in question, by publishing the following translation of the treatise of Dr. Olshausen, which has been placed at our disposal.]



## INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE Persian coins on which we find the emblems of the religion of Zoroaster, exhibit at least two specimens of old Persian characters. Of these, one is that which was long since decyphered by M. Silvestre de Sacy. It belongs to the coins of the early Sassanian kings, and serves to represent a language which appears to be substantially the same with that which M. Anquetil du Perron acquired from the Parsis of India, under the name of Pehlevi. The letters have clearly the construction of a Semitic alphabet, and wear an aspect of high antiquity. The individual letters are unconnected, and their forms are sufficiently rude. A closer examination shews that they widely depart, in many respects, from the earlier forms of the Semitic alphabets; and the distinctions of several of the letters are so much disregarded, that the decyphering of the writing is more than usually difficult. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the explanation of the inscriptions on the coins on which these characters occur, has made no progress of any value since the meritorious labours of De Sacy. We might have expected, with the course of time, some material improvement and extension of the foundations which were laid by him; but, for myself, I must confess, that I did not endeavour, with any great earnestness, to extend my acquirements in this field, although the further research was not wholly neglected. My studies have lain long enough in neighbouring regions, to afford me an inducement to make incursions into this province; only, it has not often happened to me to have had convenient access to the collections in which the study might be followed up; and I was discouraged by the rudeness and indistinctness of the

inscriptions. I therefore laid the study aside, and until lately have devoted to it but little persevering attention.

There is found, however, upon Persian coins of the same types, a second species of ancient writing, which, although indisputably allied to the first, is of later date, and is more elegant and serviceable, with characters which, in some cases, combine into groups. These have attracted me as old acquaintances, as my attention was first drawn to the coins, the legends of which are written in them, twenty years ago; for the writing is the same as that which I had become familiar with in Paris, in 1826 and 1827; the same, in fact, which was used by Anquetil's Parsi teachers, and which their successors employ to the present day. Subsequently to that period, I had had occasional opportunities of casting a hasty glance at similar coins, but no more. No explanation of them existed, as far as I was aware, nor had any attempt been made that had excited notice. I should willingly have explored their contents, and revealed them to the learned world; but there was no possibility of engaging in a prolonged investigation: and an explanation founded on the hasty inspection of a limited number of examples, indifferently well preserved, was not to be thought of, nor were the contents to be made out from even better specimens, although the writing thereof was familiar to me, and not unrelated to my labours of many years in the so-termed Pehlevi. That the language of these inscriptions was identical with that of the books of the Parsis, was the rather to be expected, as De Sacy had recognised a closely similar form of speech in the ruder characters of the early Sassanian coins. One word, which was evidently the name of a sovereign, I decyphered without any trouble, some time since, in the course of a brief examination of the coins in the royal cabinet at Copenhagen. This



was the name *Khurshid*; and it was sufficient to stimulate my curiosity to make out the contents of the rest of the legend. But who was Khurshid? I expected to find some explanation in my friend Mohl's extracts from the *Mujmih al Tawarikh* (Journal Asiatique, 3<sup>me</sup> Serie, tom. xi. p. 266), according to which work, the Queen Azermidokht was originally named Kurshid; but the name on the coin accompanied the head of a man, and the Mujmih does not affirm that Queen Azermidokht had a man's head. During the last autumn, I was engaged with more arduous duties for a considerable period at Copenhagen, and had promised myself, at some future opportunity, a careful examination of the Pehlevi coins, when a lucky star led me on the 31st of October to the Royal Cabinet. I could not resist the inclination to bestow a glance upon my old friends; and, taking one of the coins into my hand, I had scarcely turned it over, when the scales fell from my eyes. In less than an hour I had read and understood the inscriptions on the whole of this class of coins which the Cabinet contains.

Why was this not earlier accomplished—and how was it that the explanation which, without any magic, I had discovered, had not long before been made public by other cultivators of Oriental Numismatics and Literature? When the circumstances are properly considered, it must be admitted that ample means were at hand for the solution of the enigma, and abundant facilities existed for successful research. Well-preserved specimens of the coins were to be found in many accessible collections, most of which were of elegant execution, and exhibited legends in a clear and graceful writing, which did not need to be made out for the first time, since it was the same which had been explained to Du Perron by his Parsi instructor, and of

which he had published the alphabet along with his translation of the Zend Avesta. The interest of the coins was also heightened by their presenting for the most part, along with the Pehlevi, legible Kufic characters, and the possible determination of the beginning of the Arab currency seemed calculated to furnish a clear understanding of these Persic bilinguals. Yet the Pehlevi legends remained unread. Von Fraehn, in his memoirs on the Khosru coins of the early Arabian Khalifs in 1822, remarks, with regard to them, "We shall probably come nearer to the truth with respect to these coins, on the obverse of which we have a king with a winged diadem, when the Pehlevi inscriptions which occur upon them all shall be decyphered. Hitherto, the attempts made to read them have been unsuccessful; but we may expect that they will be made out when we remember that the Sassanian coins themselves have found an interpreter. How has it happened that this more recent Pehlevi has remained still undecyphered? It strikes me that the reason may be that the die-cutters were Arabian workmen, and that they have, through their unacquaintance with the Persian characters, disfigured and rendered them illegible." Fraehn's surprise, as here intimated, was well founded; but the Arabian die-cutters are not responsible for the tardiness of the interpretation of these legends, and there is no necessity for any peculiar skill in decyphering them.

The Kufic legends, accompanying the Pehlevi, have met with better treatment; they have been early noticed and carefully explained—most fully and with the most satisfactory results, as far as I am aware, in 1833, by Professor Fraehn himself, a most profound cultivator of the wide field of Mohammedan Numismatics (see his memoir on the coins of the Khans of the Yuchi horde, and his collection of



miscellaneous tracts). Upon that occasion he thus remarked, with regard to the Pehlevi legends,—“The inscription next the fire-altar, as well as behind the head on the obverse, cannot yet be explained. The writing seems to be a corrupt sort of Pehlevi, but as long as we are not in a position to decypher the legends, and to read probably the names of the Persian princes of Taberistan, by whom they were, in all likelihood, issued, we must be content to determine only the chronology of the Arabs, whose names they also bear.”

Other Numismatists, besides Von Fraehn, are very likely to have fallen into the same mistake, and to have referred the characters on the coins to a corrupt Pehlevi; although, in fact, it is the very same Pehlevi that is employed by the Parsis. It is no reproach to that learned individual that this circumstance escaped him. His studies have not been directed to the old Persian language; and the only characters known to him were those which we have been accustomed to consider as Pehlevi, since they were decyphered by De Sacy. If Von Fraehn had not been in error with respect to the appropriation of the inscriptions, he might be well excused for omitting the explanation of the legends. All circumstances considered, we should voluntarily conclude that Pehlevi letters would express the Pehlevi language; but to acquire a knowledge of the latter for the sake of the decyphering of the inscriptions, is more than can be expected, and is not necessary. The task devolved, no doubt, naturally on those Oriental scholars who have cultivated the old Persian language, and Pehlevi especially, and might have been performed by my friend Müller, of Munich, the only one who has acquired, by his publications, a legitimate reputation as a Pehlevi scholar. But Müller, as far as I know, is no Numismatist, and has not directed his inquiries towards these coins, otherwise the interpreta-

tion of the legends would have given him no more trouble than it eventually gave me; whether any one else has diligently studied Pehlevi I am not aware; but it is to be regretted that it was not done by M. A. De Longpèrier, who had such an inducement to undertake it in the furtherance of his especial labours regarding the Sassanian coins, whose legends are written in the Pehlevi language.

Dr. Dorn, of St. Petersburg, appeared at one time to be in the way to decypher our inscriptions. In his essay on three coins with Sassanian devices (*Bulletin of the Imperial Academy, class history, tom. i. No. 3*), but the few examples of Pehlevi which he has given, shew that he had not hit exactly on the right path. I am far, however, from intending by this remark to imply anything like censure. On the contrary, I am only desirous of briefly exemplifying the real difficulties which opposed the outset of all attempts at explanation in order to offer an excuse for myself, who, notwithstanding my familiarity with Pehlevi writings, failed at the first inspection to discover, what at a later date, in a great degree, came as it were of its own accord.

The Pehlevi alphabet, in the elegant form in which it appears on some of the coins, and, in the beautiful fount which is used in the printing of Müller's Essay (*Jour. Asiatique, 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tom. vii*) is a very incomplete alphabet; and, although more copious than that of the older Sassanians, is still very imperfect. In stating this fact, I do not advert to the peculiarity which Pehlevi writing has in common with the parent of the old Semitic and most of her daughters, of disregarding the insertion of the vowel accents, and employing a small portion of the consonants as the signs of the long vowels, although the varied application of the same characters according to circumstances renders it difficult to understand their purport. Nor do I think so



much of the reduction of the general aspirates to a single character, which occurs in the Pehlevi alphabet, and obscures that etymological affinity which is indubitable between Pehlevi and other languages of the same family. For this reduction depends, probably, upon a peculiarity of that language which the writing was originally intended to represent, and is not to be considered as a defect of the alphabet. I more particularly refer to a peculiarity which has probably been inherited, at least in part, from the old Persian: the indiscriminate employment of letters originally distinct, and intended for different sounds, so that the same letters may represent *n* or *w* and *yjg* or *d*. Anquetil's instructors distinguished these last four characters by the annexation of diacritical points; but this appears to have been a modern contrivance adopted from the Arabic alphabet, and is employed in respect to the application of a common character for the aspirate.<sup>1</sup> That the same signs should express in long syllables the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* or *o*; the aspirate, the letters *y*, *j*, *g*, *d*, *v*, and *n* must necessarily create great perplexity; and it needs no pains to demonstrate that such a peculiarity in the written language is ill calculated to suggest a prompt and certain apprehension of the writer's meaning, although it may afford the means, in most cases, of ultimately attaining certainty. A thorough knowledge of the language conveyed through such a character is, therefore, a *conditio sine quâ non*.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Du Perron, on this subject, observes. "Dans les manuscrits c'est ordinairement le sens qui détermine la différence de l'*a* à l'*h*, de l'*n* au *v*, de *v* à l'*o* et à l'*ou*, de l'*l* à l'*r*, du *p* à l'*f*, du *j* au *z*, du *d* au *t*, de l'*h* à l'*s* au *sh* et au *kh*. Les points distinguent l'*a* bref du *kh*, le *d* et le *dj* du *g* dur de l'*i*, mais fort souvent on ne les marque pas; ce qui rend la lecture des livres Pehlvis très difficile."—Zend Avesta, vol. ii. 426.

Dr. Dorn, consequently, who has had no opportunity of studying the Pehlevi language in the original manuscripts, may well be excused if he failed to decypher the inscriptions on the coins; and the same will account for the indifferent success that attended my first superficial researches, few traces appearing on the coins of the character of the Pehlevi language, as it was represented by Du Perron; the language being in fact much more nearly similar to modern Persian. This was, especially, the case in the coins latterly described by Fraehn, as the coins of the Ispahbeds of the countries on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. Subsequently, in the course of last summer, I was enabled, by a renewed residence at Copenhagen, to comprise additional specimens of the coins within my researches, and in consequence, to class my explanation of the Pehlevi legends under four divisions; the first treats of the "Coins of Taberistan," the second of the "Earliest Coins of the Arab Governors of Persia," the third of the "Indo-Persic Coins of Eastern Iran," and the fourth of the "Coins of the last Sassanian kings."

#### CHAP. I. — ON THE COINS OF TABERISTAN.

THAT certain coins of the usual Sassanian type were current in the mountainous regions on the south of the Caspian, was made known by the researches of O. G. Tychsen (*Additamentum ad Introd. in rem Num. I. Mihr. p. 33.*), and more recently by those of T. C. Tychsen (*Comm. I. de Numis. vett. Persarum. in Comm. Soc. Goett. recentt. tom. i. p. 25.*). Von Fraehn who had at first expressed a different opinion as to the origin of these coins, did himself infinite credit by retracting his opinion, and



shewing, in his treatise on the coins of the Khans of the Yuchi horde, from the little known histories of Mazenderan, Ghilan, and other countries along the southern shore of the Caspian, that the coins there met with present, along with the usual devices, the names of the Arab governors who were appointed over those provinces by the Khalifs, written in Kufic characters. It is necessary to give at full length his observations on the subject. Under the title *Ispehbedi*, he has the following remarks:—"With the Essay on the Mohammedan coins, published in the Transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg (part 3.), I gave rough sketches of the coins in question (plate xvi. a.), and of others somewhat resembling them. They were issued by the earlier Arabian Khalifs, before the introduction of a pure Mohammedan coinage, or before the year of the Hijra 76, in the newly conquered Persian provinces, and retained or rather imitated the Sassanian device. I therefore called them Arabico-Khosru coins. Soon afterwards, or in the year 1827, I admitted the conviction derived from consulting the obscure histories of Mazenderan, Ghilan, and the other provinces south of the Caspian, that those coins were all *Ispehbedi* اِسپَه‌بَدِي and those with an inscription in one language only, as well as those with a bilingual inscription, originated with the petty Persian princes, who, at first, ruled over the provinces as viceroys of the Sassanian kings, with the title of 'Ispehbed.' Upon the decline of the Sassanian monarchy, they assumed independence. Being devoted to the faith of their fathers, they defended themselves for a long time against the might of the Mohammedan Arabs; and, even after the country was, in part, wrested from them, and they were forced to submit to the governors appointed by the Khalifs, they continued to coin money with the customary Persian im-

pression, adding to it the name of the Emir, or a passage from the Koran. Of the dynasties which these Ispehbeds, who, at last, retained nothing of their authority but the title, founded, and of which some existed until the rise of the Sefis of Persia it is sufficient to specify the following. The Káran's *الكارن*—who reigned from about fifty years before the Hijra, to the year 224 after it. 6. The Dabuyas *الداوييه* or the first line of the Gaoparas *الكاوپاره* from Hij. 40 to 140 c. The Badusepáns *البادوسپان* or second line of the Gaoparas from Hij. 45 to 881. d. The Bawands *الباوند* the first branch, or the Kayusias *كيسيه* and the second branch or Ispehbeds, specially so called. The coin more particularly referred to, belonged to a prince of the Badusepán dynasty, perhaps to Shahriar bin Badusepán, or to one of the first race of the Bawands, Surkhab bin Mihr merdan, and was struck about the year 155—161 of the Hijra (A.D. 772—778), or H. 165—167 (A.D. 781—783), for within these periods lived the Omar whose name appears in Arabic characters on the obverse in front of the bust of the Ispehbed, with the winged crown. The name I find given more fully on another coin in the collection of Count Theod. A. Tolstór as Omar bin al Ala *عمر بن العلاء*<sup>2</sup> who was governor of Taberistan, on the part of the Khalifs, Mansur and Mehdi. The reverse exhibits the emblems of fire-worship to which these Persian princes were then and even later devoted, namely the Fire-altar, and the two guardians of the sacred flame." Then follow the above mentioned remarks on the Pehlevi Legends; and in a note the following account of the governors appointed by the Khalifs,

---

<sup>2</sup> In his collection of smaller tracts, Von Fraehn gives the name at length, as Omar ben al alá ben Abd-ul-muttalib.



whose names occur on Kufic letters upon the coins. "Those coins which bear the name of the celebrated Hejaz, were most probably struck between the Hijra years 78 or 79 and 95 (A.D. 697—714), by Ferkhan the Great, the Ispehbedi-Ispehbedian of the Dabuya dynasty. On one of them appears the name of Mukatil, who cannot well be any other than Mukatil ben Hakim al Akki, whose history was composed under the two first princes of the house of Abbas, and who appears to have been sent from Jaffa to Taberistan in the Hij. 134—136 (A.D. 751—753). Those with the name Sayid or Sayid ben Dalej, were coined in the Khalifat of Al Mehdi, in the year 162—164 Hij (A.D. 778—780), when he was governor. One with the name Jerir belongs probably to the time of Harun al Rashid. One with the name Hani, is of the beginning of the reign of Mamun. ii. 198 (A.D. 813); when Hani ben Hani held the government of Taberistan. Lastly the coin bearing the name of Abdullah, was without doubt coined in the reign of the last named Khalif; although, from the absence of the paternal appellation it is uncertain which Abdullah is meant, especially as at that date Taberistan had several governors so named. This much have I ascertained in my examination of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy, with respect to the coins issued by the Geber princes of Mazenderan, in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and which, together with the coins of the Khalifs and other Mohammedan princes, of that or of a still later period have been dug up, not unfrequently in Russia, and on the shores of the Baltic; and bear testimony to the existence of a lively and steady commercial intercourse between Russia and the countries south of the Caspian Sea."

The contents of this notice were exceedingly acceptable

to me when I visited, as I have mentioned, the Royal Cabinet of Medals at Copenhagen, and took in hand the examination of the coins, which along with Pehlevi legends bore Kufic inscriptions. There were nine of these in the Royal Cabinet, all silver, of which five had the name of Omar, in Kufic characters, and the other four were severally in the same letters, Mukatil, Sayid, Jerir, and Hani. These names occur on eight of the coins, on the obverse to the right, before the well-formed profile of the prince; while on the contrary, on one of the Omar coins, which is unfortunately defective, the name, although on the obverse, stands on the left on the edge. There are, indeed, only the two first letters remaining, and other letters might have been added, especially the rest of the name; but at any rate the coins may be included among those bearing the word Omar.

Upon one of the Omar coins, and subsequently upon the other eight, I read the name of the province Taberistan in Pehlevi letters, only in the somewhat more ancient form of Tapuristan. The characters expressing this name are always found on the reverse, and to the right. They are so found in all the four coins, delineated in the accompanying plate. Their analysis leaves no doubt of the accuracy of the reading, and offers not the slightest difficulty. The first letter on the right, and on the upper edge of the coin, is the usual Pehlevi *t*, the second is *p*, the first stroke of which on the right, takes a more oblique direction than in the Pehlevi manuscripts which I have seen, and in this respect approaches nearer to the form of the latter, on the earliest Sassanian medals. The third letter is a *w*, here representing the vowel *u*; then follow *r*, *s*, *t*, the character used for the aspirate here representing the long *á*, and the last is *n*. In Niskh they would be expressed



طبرستان whence comes the more modern form Taberistan  
 طبرستان It is through the influence of the Arabic that 't'  
 is represented by the Arabic character ط for the Pehlevi  
 alphabet has but one letter for it, and the more frequently  
 employed but dissimilar ت. We may recognise in the word  
 Tapuristan, the ancient appellation Tapurii, palpably pre-  
 served at that period, although in some degree altered in  
 its more modern enunciation. The name of the country  
 Tapúristán, might, perhaps, according to a common prac-  
 tice of the Arabs, be applied also to the capital; and, in  
 that case, the town might be identified with Amul or with  
 Sariya. But as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark,  
 it is preferable to restrict the term to the denomination of  
 the country, not of any city.

However assured may be the reading of the name Ta-  
 puristan, it may be here right to observe, that upon some  
 of the coins in this and in other words, the form of the  
 character 's' is not so distinct as in the greater number;  
 and that this letter, with the representatives of the aspirate  
 and of 'a,' cannot always be discriminated.

Immediately after making out the word, I succeeded in  
 decyphering other legends on the reverse, and to the left.  
 Upon all the nine coins of the Royal Cabinet we have, in  
 this place, names of numbers identical with modern Per-  
 sian. The following I can pronounce upon without hesita-  
 tion. On Nos. 1 and 2 of the Omar coins, and on that  
 of Sayid, occur Panch-wist-Sat, or in Niskh پندچ بیست و شش  
 Five (and) twenty (and a) hundred. The first two letters  
 'p' and 'n' need no explanation; the third, "ch," is some-  
 what differently formed from the same in the manuscripts  
 and in the Paris type; it is older, but perfect and sufficiently  
 analogous to the usual form. Next follow, first a 'w,' then  
 a small accent, which is connected with the following letter,

VOL. XI.

L

the usual Pehlevi 'y,' here representing 'i'. Next come 'i' and 't,' completing 'wist.' It is now usual to pronounce and write 'bist', but the identity of the two, and the greater antiquity of the former, cannot be doubted. Lastly, follow 's' and 't,' which, combined, make 'sat' the 'sad' صد of modern Persia; but the Pehlevi has no character for ص and the sonant 'd' is softened to a primitive 't.'

Upon another of the Omar coins occurs "Haft wist sat," هفت وِست صد seven (and) twenty (and a) hundred. The initial aspirate in this instance in the manuscripts is represented by a mark which blends with the ensuing labial: I read the latter as the modern Persian 'f,' although the manuscripts have a rather different character for it; but I do not find anything of the kind on the coin, and think that at an early date the tenuis and the aspirate may have been expressed by the same character. If, therefore, any should prefer to read the word 'hapt,' I have no objection to make: it is the same thing, but may be the older form. The other term 'sat' has already been explained.

A third coin of Omar bears the numeral "Hasht wist sat" هشت وِست صد eight (and) twenty (and a) hundred. In the first, the sibilant is formed rather differently from that used in the manuscripts; but there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the reading. If, however, there be a difference from the modern Persian, the first word may be called 'asht,' with a harsh aspirate of the initial vowel. This form is allowable, both in writing and speaking, and would be ancient, and would approach nearer to Sanskrit.

A fourth coin, with the name of Omar, has the number "Nu wist sat" ن وِست صد nine (and) twenty, (and a) hundred. The word 'nu' is expressed by a duplication of the character which denotes 'n' as well as 'w' or 'u;' and any other rendering of the word would be impossible. But whether



'nu' be the true pronunciation, or whether the vowel, as is generally the case with 'w,' be long, or short as in modern Persian; whether the word should be pronounced 'no' or 'nou,' may be doubted. The latter were, perhaps, etymologically preferable.

I consider as not less certain than the determination of these numerals, that of two other coins on which occur "Haft si sat" seven (and) thirty (and a) hundred, and bear the names of Jerir and Hani. They require some further remark. The coin of Jerir has at the end of the word 'sat' the character which usually denotes 'n' or 'w,' but which as Müller has observed (*Journal As.*: 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tome vii. p. 333) stands at the end of words terminating with certain consonants, without any independent power, especially when attached to the Pehlevi 't.' Again, in 'si' thirty, the sibilant has not the customary form of the Pehlevi 's,' as it appears in 'vist' and 'sat;' but, instead of the two strokes which represent them, has three of equal length, and therefore differs from 'sh' (which has three of different length). The mark for 'i' is not the usual apostrophe curved to the left, but a stroke, straighter and more detached, a mark formed almost like the 'n' or 'd;' but not descending so low. On another coin with the name of Mukátil, we find the 'i' formed according to rule, whence the reading is considered more certain. On that with Hani, of which I read the date 137, the 'i' is formed still more like the 'n' or 'v': but I must, nevertheless, regard the reading as correct; or it might be supposed possible that the 'si' and the 'sat' formed but one word; that 's' should be read 'sh,' and the 'i' either 'w' or 'u.' We might thus construct a word represented in Niskh, by 'Shust,' or the modern Persian 'shast,' sixty. I cannot, however, admit this reading, as the 'i' is exactly the same which occurs in Mukátil,

and as there are other reasons against it. With regard to the coin with the name of Hani, it may be remembered that the form of the aspirate at the beginning of the otherwise indisputable word 'haft,' is not quite regularly formed. It should be joined to the labial, as on the Omar coin, above noticed, dated 127; but instead of this, the latter initial is detached and mutilated, so that it looks like 'y' or 'i'. This, however, is probably only a defect in the impression, and cannot be looked upon as an authorised deviation from the usual style of writing the character.

On the last of the Omar coins I read the numerical "Wist duwist," twenty (and) two hundred, as I think I can discern between the 'v' and 't' of the last term, not only two but three strokes, which gives it the modern Persian spelling "duwist" twenty-two. Should I, however, be mistaken, and but two strokes intervene, we may then read it 'do sat,' two hundred, not two (and a) hundred, which under other circumstances might be allowed. But the coins have, as the numbers quoted shew, a peculiar arrangement, or that of the unit, the decimal, and the hundreds in successive series; while in modern Persian the reverse is the case. If we had but the two places, then it might be read a hundred and two; but as the first term is twenty, we cannot do otherwise than read it two hundred and twenty, consistently with all preceding examples. How to reconcile the difference of date in the coins of Omar, which this reading indicates, may be left for the present.

I am less certain with respect to the reading of the coins in the Royal Cabinet, which bear the name Mukátil. The last term is undoubtedly 'sat,' a hundred; and apparently it is preceded by 'si,' thirty. The 'i' is sufficiently distinct, and the 's' is written with three strokes. The principal difficulty lies in the first term; the first and third



characters of which are 'n' and 'w' (or 'u'); and the second may be intended for the aspirated vowel, or 'a.' The word may be differently read 'nán' or 'wán,' 'nau' or 'wau,' 'nabee' or 'wahee,' 'nathu' or 'wathu;' and hence it may be intended for the Persian 'nao,' nine, which it most nearly resembles. The word, it is true, may be written 'nu,' but in any case there is possibly no identity between it and any Persian numeral, between two and eight. Neither is there much affinity to 'yek,' 'one,' for the pronunciation 'waku,' which comes nearest, is too unlike, and the combination is too incapable of grammatical support to be of much weight, as long as another explanation is available and the reading less objectionable. If the preference be given to 'Nakhu,' it might be thought to represent the Persian ordinal, 'nakhast' or 'nakhust' first; and the conjecture is the more probable, that we may have here the fundamental constitution of the more modern numeral. I am the more inclined to prefer this reading, as I do not find upon the coins any other term for 'one,' although a different one may be found for 'nine.' I purpose, therefore, to read in this place 'Naku si sat,' one hundred and thirty-one.

These coins of Tapuristan, besides the Pehlevi legends already described, present another word, on the obverse, behind the head. It is the same on all the coins, and may be expressed in Niskh characters, by افزود Afzud. The first four letters are unmistakeable, and with the exception of the 'z' have previously occurred. The 't' of the coins answers to the 'd' of the Persian word, sometimes with, sometimes without, the final stroke. The word has been read by Dorn 'apiti,' by M. Longpérier, 'apest' (an). The term may be readily explained as far as concerns the meaning of the root in modern Persian, in which Afzuden افزودن signifies 'to augment,' 'to multiply,' or intran-

sitively 'to grow,' 'to increase,' 'to be rich,' 'to remain over.' With respect to the derivative, the case is less clear. 'Afzud' in Persian is the perfect third person singular or the perfect participle, increased. In this place we should rather expect the expression of a wish or a blessing; and, although the Arabs employ the perfect in such a sense, yet the Persians do not. We can scarcely suppose that the Arabic construction has exercised any influence on the legends of these coins; but it is very possible that the sense of the term may be the same as that of the Arabic دام مملكة *dāma malkahu*, "may his kingdom endure," or our "Vivat, floreat, crescat."

The strokes which stand near the margin above the word 'Afzud' on all the Tapuristan coins, constitute to all appearance a mint-mark in the Pehlevi characters, the meaning of which I cannot explain. Other mint-marks are observable on the margin of the obverse, on the outer part of the circle, which encloses the bust and the legends.

If, as seems very probable, the numerals which are decypherable on the coins of Tapuristan denote so many years, it would be advisable here to examine how far they correspond with the chronological succession proposed by Van Fraehn, for the Arab governors whose names appear in Kufic characters upon the coins; but as our materials are rather scanty, we must endeavour to extend them by reference to other quarters. Copenhagen offers some assistance, which, although not of very great value, is not to be neglected.

Two coins with Pehlevi and Kufic inscriptions are in the possession of Councillor Thompson, the Director of the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen, who has had the kindness to allow me to examine them; but they are identical with two of those in the Royal Cabinet already described;



one being a coin of Omar with the numeral 129, the other of Mukátíl, on which I read 131. He had also in the Royal Cabinet sulphur-casts of ten coins of Tapuristan, with Pehlevi-Kufic inscriptions, the originals of which are in the British Museum. Some are the same as those in the Royal Cabinet—others are new to us. The following is an account of them, together with the particulars accompanying, as sent from London, and the numbers under which they are there entered : —

Nos. 7,275, 7,277 (British Museum, purchased of Young) are two coins of Sayid; the first of which has certainly the numeral 127, the other most probably 126. The first marks which seem to be the Persian Shash, are not very distinct, having the appearance of an involved and doubled 'sh.' I cannot detect any other mode of reading the number. If the reading be correct, the coin fills up the interval between the Copenhagen one of 125 and that of London of 127. No. 7,279 (purchased of Young), 7,243, 7,244 (Payne Knight, p. 205, xviii. 1, 2), 7,245 (ibid. 3), 7,260 (British Museum additions), are five coins of Omar—the first with the numeral 127, the two following with 128, the fourth 129, and the last 220. They have already been described; and little more is to be said of them. No. 7,279 has the final stroke after the word 'sat.' No. 7,244 exactly resembles the Copenhagen coin of 128. No. 7,243 has the same, more regularly written. No. 7,260 has distinctly a mark after 'sat.' No. 7,276 (purchased of Young) is a coin of Mukátíl, exactly like that of Copenhagen, only with the mark of the final.

Nos. 7,278, 7,280 (similarly designated) are two coins of Hani, with the numeral 138. On the first the 'eight' is not quite distinct, but it seems to be regularly formed. The 'thirty' resembles that with which we are already

acquainted—that on the coin of Jerir of 137. In the second coin the ‘eight’ is regular.

Finally, I have to quote a few examples from engraved specimens in different public works, upon which, however, less dependence can be placed than upon good impressions in sulphur or the coins themselves. Hitherto, the Pehlevi characters have been equally unfamiliar to the artists who have been employed to copy the coins, and to the editors of the publications in which the plates are given, and, consequently, it was unavoidable that mistakes should occur, and that the Pehlevi letters should not be readable with the desired confidence. I will, however, point out, and briefly remark on those which are at present accessible.

C. Niebuhr has engraved in his travels in Arabia (pl. xiii. fig. 22) a coin of Sayid, very distinctly represented. It has clearly the number 125, and may possibly be the coin in the Royal Cabinet. In the word ‘panch,’ five, however, the ‘n’ and ‘ch’ are blended in the engraving—while on the coin they are evidently separate.

C. M. Von Wiczay in the first part of the Museum Hederarium of Hungary (Vienna, 1814) Pl. xxvii. fig. 588, has engraved a coin of Sayid with the numeral 126, like that of London, 7,275. A similar coin occurs in Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia* DXLII. In the same plate, fig. DXLI. is a coin of Omar, with the numeral 128. Van Fraehn has given us in his *Ibn Fozlan* (p. 85), a coin of Jerir, on which, I think, I can read 135. The ‘five’ is quite certain. He gives us also in his work on the Khans of the Yuchi tribe (pl. xvi. a.), the representation of a coin of Omar, on which occasion he introduces the learned remarks above referred to, concerning the Ispehbeds. He considers the engraving of the coin to be entirely correct; but I can scarcely think this applies to the Pehlevi legend,



and should wish the coin to be submitted to the revision of the learned editor himself, or some other qualified person. In the name Tapúristan, the concluding 'n' appears to be wanting, and what is of more consequence, a serious error seems to have crept into the first part of the numerical phrase. As it now stands, I can only render it in Niskh letters ویاست sad, 'viást sad,' which is not genuine Persian. I suppose it should be 'wist sat' 120; and if so, we have an additional numeral, not met with on other coins.

We find in Möller (see *Numis. Orient. Com.* i.) pl. 1, the obverse of a coin of Omar, the reverse should have the date. In M. De Longpérier's *Essai*. pl. xii. No. 6, is a coin of Mukátíl, the date of which I cannot make out. In the same plate, No. 5, is a coin of Háni, on which I read 137. M. De Longpérier has classed both these coins with those of the Sassanian Queen Azermidokht, and has remarked of the last, that the legend which contains the name is written in a retrograde direction;—but in fact it is not, as usual, Pehlevi, but Kufic.

Here, then, are the numbers found upon the Pehlevi-Kufic coins which I have consulted. To them, however, I am able to add a small number of others of a similar class which have inscriptions in Pehlevi only, but which in this unexpected form present not only the dates, but the name of Omar. The Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen possesses a coin of this description (No. 1 of our plate), the edge of which is broken off in one place, but fortunately without injury to the legend. On this coin, the name Omar is distinctly impressed, with the aspirate, it is true, followed by 'w' ('u' or 'o'), 'm' 'r.' The number is also clear 'wist sat' (120), with the mark of the final at the end of last word.

Among the casts in the Royal Cabinet are two, 7,273,

VOL. XI.

M

7,274 (British Museum, purchased of Young), which also bear the name Omar in Pehlevi letters. The first with 120 is exactly like the Copenhagen coin; the other has, I doubt not, 124, although the word 'wist' is not quite legible. I find also in Wiczay (pl. xxvii. 589) a coin of Omar, which appears to be identical with that of London, the letter 'w' is effaced, and the word Tapúristan is much disfigured. Finally, M. De Longpérier has a coin of the same kind under the title Sarbaraz (pl. xii. 3), on which, with some trouble, may be decyphered the number 124.

Let us now compare the numerals associated with Arabic names with those which have been made known through the chronological notices of Von Fraehn; and we shall find that among them Mukátil-ben Hakim-al-Akki appears as the earliest of the Governors of Taberistan at the head of the series. He appears to have been appointed by Abul-Abbas-as-Sefâ in the Hijra year 134-136. On his coins we read on three examples the date 131; or perhaps it should be 139, which agree nearly, but not quite, with the date specified historically. Mukátil might, however, have held the government until 139. Von Fraehn is not positive on this point. It can hardly be thought likely that Mukátil held the same post under Uma-ad-din-Merwan in 131, which he occupied under Abul-Abbas. He is named by Ibn Kotaiba (in the *Kitab-al-maarif*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, 251) towards the close of the reign of Merwan without any more particular notice. Since the date on the coin of Mukátil agrees perfectly with that in which he lived, and comes near to that in which he was governor of Taberistan, we might be disposed to conclude that the Mohammedan era was that intended to be used; but there are weighty objections to this conclusion. The other coins of Tapúristan, whether they present higher or lower numbers



than those of Mukátíl, do not accord with the dates of the Mohammedan chronology.

Omar-ben-al-Alá was, according to Von Fraehn, governor of Taberistan about Hijra 155-161, and 165-167 on the part of the Khalifs Al Mansur (+ 158) and Al Mehdi (+ 168). He is repeatedly made mention of at the latter period by Ibn Koteiba, as "Al Mehdi appointed him governor of Taberistan;" and again, "Said-ben-al-Aás reduced Taberistan to subjugation in the reign of Othman; afterwards Amur (read Omar) ben-al-Alá subdued the same, together with Talekan and Naháwand, in the year 157." We might correct Von Fraehn's first reckoning by this last notice of an author of so much weight as Ibn Koteiba; but a decided opinion cannot be pronounced until we are made acquainted with the sources whence the former has derived his information. However this may be, our coins of Omar exhibit very different numbers from the years of the Hijra. Our numerals are 120 (upon two coins), 124 (three), 125 (one), 127 (two), 128 (four), 129 (three), and lastly 220 (on two coins). We will leave this last numeral, differing so widely from the rest, out of the question, and admit with Fraehn that, between the two periods at which Omar was the governor of Taberistan, occurred the government of Said ben Dalij in the Hijra 162-164. Now, upon our coins of Said, we have also numbers which fall in with the order of dates of Omar's coins, or 125 (on one coin), 126 (on three), and 127 (on one). This is a splendid confirmation of the succession of these coins, constructed with so much ingenuity by Von Fraehn, and furnishes a key to the determination of the era, which makes its appearance on the coins of Tapúristan. The years 125-127 of this era must correspond with the years of the Hijra 162-164, and we

shall have the following result for the dates of the coins during the two governments of Omar-ben-al-Alá.

120—157 Hij. In this year, Ibn Koteiba places the subjugation of the province by Omar.

124—161.

125—162. In the course of this year, the governor was changed, the coins with Omar's name are older than those with Said's.

126—163. Belongs probably to Said.

127—164. New change of governor, the coins of Said of this year are older than those of Omar.

128—165.

129—166.

Let us now advert to the numbers 135 and 137 on the coins of Jerir, who is placed by Fraehn in the reign of Harun, who reigned from Hij. 170 to 193. The year 135 of the coins is equivalent to the Hij. year 172 and 137, to 174. On the coins of Hani we find the same number 137 (on two coins), and 138 (on two), Hij. 174-175. Fraehn, on the contrary, refers this coin to the reign of Mamun, about Hij. 198; and either a different system of chronology has been applied to the coins, or Fraehn has made a very pardonable mistake. There seems no satisfactory reason for a change of era; and our Hani coin most probably belongs to a different rule, from the Hani ben Hani, of Fraehn. Might not the latter (the father), have filled the same office some twenty-four years earlier. Whether the coins with the name Abdullah, which Fraehn refers, along with those of Hani, to the reign of Al Mamun, belong to Taberistan, I cannot say, as I have never seen one, not even in an engraving; but it is not improbable. The same may be said of the coin which bears the name Suleiman,



and which is described by Fraehn, in the collection of his memoirs, and attributed to Suleiman ben Mansur, the predecessor of Hani ben Hani. The singleness of this coin induces me to think that it may be earlier than any of the coins of Tapúristan hitherto noticed; and there is nothing in Fraehn's description inconsistent with such a belief. I have greater doubt respecting the coin with the name Bashr بش which is found in Göttingen, respecting which Von Fraehn makes no observation. I know of no impression of it, nor of the more important coins on which we have at full length the names Omar ben al Alá, and Said ben Dâlj, whose corresponding dates it would be of great interest to compare.

What system of Chronology, then, is that which appears upon the coins of Tapúristan? Taking the year of Said's government as the basis of comparison with the Mohammedian dates, we contrasted the two periods, from 120 to 157 H. to 138—175 H. without reference to any difference which might well occur in the commencement of each year, and might make some difference in the computation. We might safely omit this in a comparison of so short a period as eighteen years, without running the risk of any startling error. Were we to go upwards in the same inexact style, we should place the first year of the era of the coins as equivalent to the thirty-eighth year of the Hijra, and then might fall into an error of greater magnitude. The current era of Tapúristan, can hardly be reckoned, like the Mohammedan, by lunar years. The Persian solar year, had been in use here from the earliest time; and no doubt prevailed very generally, until the religion of Zoroaster was overthrown by that of Mohammed. According to the native era, therefore, it may be presumed that the reckoning by solar years, existed from the first century of the

Hijra; and the first year must therefore be thrown some years further back than the thirty-eighth, as above.

In truth with the year of the Hijra, 32, we attain an era not altogether unknown, that which Haji Khalfa calls in the Takvim at Tawarikh, the old Persian era, تاریخ فرس قدیم and ascribes to this year. It is without doubt the same which is called by others the era of Yezdegird, after the last of the Sassanian kings who perished at Merv, in the year of the Hijra 31. M. Ideler, it is true, is of a different opinion, and with the Oriental astronomers, dates the commencement of the era of Yezdegird from that prince's coronation, on the sixteenth June, A.D. 632; but we can scarcely question the existence of the era mentioned by Haji Khalfa, or the propriety of the name which he gives to it, meaning the same as the era of Yezdegird, of the astronomers. At any rate, he meant, if not the same, yet, *an* era of Yezdegird reckoned from his death. With this Yezdegirdian era, if it may be so termed, the dates on the coins will very nearly if not exactly correspond. If we fix the beginning of the coin-era, in comparison with that era of Yezdegird, which, according to the astronomers, begins in the second half of the Hijra, 32, or to the thirty-second year of the Hij., then the coin era would commence on the eleventh June, A.D. 653. On the first of August following, began the Hijra year 33. The year 126 of the coins, like the year of Yezdegird, of the astronomers 147, would begin on the eleventh May, A.D. 778; but the year 162 of the Hij. would begin on the twenty-seventh of the September following, and one third of the Mohammedan year 161 and two thirds of 162 would be included in the coin-year 126, differing from our former calculations, which made 126 equal to 163. This cannot be accurate, if Von Fraehn's



notices of Said are precise, as there exist strong reasons to believe. I conjecture therefore that the coin-era begins a year later than the old Persian one of Haji Khalfa; and I submit to Mr. Ideler with all humility, whether it may not be possible, that, as the era of Yezdegird came into use in different places at different times, it may not have had different beginnings ascribed to it, of which the era used in Tapúristan may be an instance.

But the mysterious number, 220, on two of the coins of Omar, must belong to an entirely distinct period. We might be inclined to place them indeed about a century later than those of Omar of an earlier date, and to consider this Omar as quite a different person from Omar the son of Alá; but the appearance of the coin is opposed to this conjecture. We find in a Pehlevi legend on several coins not before noticed, proof that this coin belongs to the others, which bears Omar's name. The coins of 124 and of 220, read on the obverse on the margin, in Pehlevi letters, 'Harun;' we naturally refer this to the celebrated Harun al Rashid, but his name would not be inserted as that of Khalif, upon coins struck by governors, who were appointed by the Khalifs Al Mansur, and Al Mehdi. He must have been inserted as next in succession to the throne, Wali Ahad, or heir apparent, as it occurs upon an Arabic coin of Hij. 169, mentioned by Von Fraehn (*Miscellanies* page 75). At all events, it is certain that the coins of 220, stand in close connexion with those of 124, and that both are of the same period, although they adopt different eras.

If we consider the year 220 as synchronous with the year of Yezdegird 124, then the beginning of the former era will fall in A. D. 588, or about sixty-four years before the Hijra. I know of no event about this time, which should give rise to a new era in Tapúristan. One of the dynasties

of the province, the ancient family of the Karanians, dated the beginning of their rule, according to Fraehn, about fifty years anterior to the Hijra, whence a local era may have originated. This approximation is the nearest that can be made; and as it still leaves twelve years unaccounted for, it may be doubted if we can regard it as authorising a Karianian era. We may however conclude that the coins with such widely differing dates, could not be struck by princes who reckoned by the era of Yezdegird. As both classes bear the name of Tapúristan, we may also infer that the name designates the province, not any particular capital.

We have placed together the coins of the years 124 and 220, from finding the name of Harun on both, which is wanting on the others; but in another respect the coin of 220 offers a greater resemblance to that of 125, as they both contain the Arabic name in Pehlevi and in Kufic. The coin of Omar of 125, has the name by the side of the head in Pehlevi characters, and something very like it in Kufic upon the margin. It may however be doubted if the same name should be properly repeated. They might be different individuals, or the one be Omar, and the other, that on the margin, Amr; but, it is not conceivable in what quality a second person could be mentioned, as there could have been no other heir to the Khalifat in 125, except Harun. The concurrence of Pehlevi, and Kufic upon the coins is as follows. Those of the date 120, have Omar in Pehlevi only; those of 124, Omar and Harun in Pehlevi; those of 125, Omar, in Pehlevi and Omar or Amr, in Kufic. All the subsequent coins from the time of Said, have the names in Kufic alone; and this furnishes an additional ground for my proposed insertion of Mukátíl, instead of Fraehn's Mukátíl ben Hakim.

Besides the coins of Tapúristan, mentioned by Fraehn



with Pehlevi-Kufic inscriptions and Arabic names, and those with pure Pehlevi, in which also I read Arabic names, I have to produce a pair belonging to the same province, with a pure Pehlevi impression, and without any Arabic name; these are the coins on which the name Khurshid is distinctly legible. The royal cabinet has two, which are similar to those already commented on, in their general appearance and detail. One has, besides the name, the date, 'Du sat' a hundred and two, for two hundred would be 'Du-wist' as on the Omar Coin of 220. On the second is a numeral, the first character of which is clearly 'four;' the last seems to consist of a 'w' (or 'n') a 't' and the final mark belonging to it. This cannot well be a mutilation of 'sat' a hundred, as might at first be supposed. I conjecture that before 'wt' an 'n' did, or should stand, which has been confounded with the preceding 'r' as has happened in other cases. On both the coins where we miss the mark for 'w' or 'n,' the 'r' has a curve underneath, which bends in almost a half circle to the left—like the 'r' which, according to Müller (*Jour. Asiatique* 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tom. vii. page 317), resembles the Zend 'o' having a similar curve to the right; we may then read here 'chahár nawad' چهارنود ninety four,—and as this is probably dated after the era of Yezdegird, it is the oldest coin of Tapúristan we possess.\* Among the casts in the royal cabinet, is

---

\* I have had for some time, but have unhappily mislaid it, an impression in sealing-wax of a coin which probably came from the collection of the establishment of St. Florian, which I visited in 1841, as well as the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna, and which presents characters remarkably sharp cut. The obverse has nothing peculiar, presenting the usual 'Afzud,' and the name 'Khurshid.' On the obverse we have to the right the name of the country, Tapúristan; on the left, not a date, but

a coin of Khurshid, No. 7281 (purchased of Young), in which the number 'Chahardeh sat' 114, is clearly and beautifully engraved, Khurshid may, therefore, have been the last prince of Tapúristan, whose name was stamped upon its coins, for in 120, Omar ben al Ala conquered the country, and had his name impressed on the coins.

To what dynasty Khurshid belonged I cannot say. Von Fraehn will perhaps give us some information on this head. That learned numismatist is inclined to ascribe the still remaining Tapúristan coins to the Badusepends, or to the Bawands of the first race. Of them the only prince he names is Shahriar Badusepend, whose name I do not find on any of the coins any more than that of the Bawandi Surkhab ben Mihrmerdan. On the other hand, the coin engraved by De Longpérier (Plate xii. fig. 4), and attributed by him to Queen Puran, may perhaps belong to the Dabuya Ferkhan the great. The initial letters 'p' (or f) and 'r' as well as the last syllable 'an' are quite clear in the engraving; between them are lines which have the appearance of a 'd' with 'w' (or n). We cannot, however, depend on the correctness of the marking; and the legend, as given in the text, has one line more than the plate. The date on the reverse is illegible. It would probably be of a lower number than on any of the coins we have de-

---

a word, which is blended with the following marks, and may be read 'ahit,' (ahid) or 'hait' (haid). A name so pronounced is unknown to me, and I cannot assign to it any meaning. It is possible, however, that the initial should be 's' and then for the first time we should have in Pehlevi characters the name Saïd. This could only be the individual already known to us as Saïd ben Dalej; and the coin would present a novel and interesting association of the name of an Arab governor with that of an Ispahbed. I should wish however to meet with a coin more worthy of reliance to confirm this conjectural reading.



scribed. It may be expected, that other coins of this class will offer us additional names. I will here arrange the coins I know of, in the order of the Mohammedan, Christian, and Yezdegirdan eras, the years of the latter being reckoned as beginning with the middle of the Christian year, 654.

	HIJRA.	A.D.	YEZ.
Khurshid . . .	130	747-8	94
	138	755-6	102
	150	767-8	114
Arab Governors,			
Omar ben al Ala, the same on the coin with the un- known date 220 .	156-7	773-4	120
<i>mistake for 120</i>	161	777-8	124
Omar ben Said ben			
Dalij . . . .	162	778-9	125
Said . . . .	163	779-80	126
Said: then Omar again . . . .	164	780-1	127
Omar . . . .	165	781-2	128
	166	782-3	129
Mukátíl . . .	168	784-5	131
Jerir . . . .	172	788-9	135
Jerir: then Hani .	174	790-1	137
Hani . . . .	175	791-2	138

I close my remarks on this subject, by referring to the often-cited expression of Makrizi, "Diráhem Tabariya," دراهم طبریه which may well be rendered "Dirhems of Tapúristan." The equally frequent phrase of the same author "of the ancient Tabæri," طبریه عتقا can scarcely apply to our

coins. Fraehn vindicates for them the designation Ispah-bedigan, which is correctly enough applicable to the coins of Khurshid at least.

(*To be continued.*)

## VII.

### UNEDITED ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

WE are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Tupper for the communication of drawings of several ancient British coins, two of which are of great interest, and deserving of especial notice. They may be described as follows, as they appear in our plate:—

1. ↑EPATI. Head to the right wearing a kind of hood.  
R.—Without legend. An Eagle with wings displayed, standing (ut videtur) on a serpent: in the field, an annulet. *R.* Weight  $17\frac{1}{2}$  grains.
2. VERIC. COM. F. in two lines across the field: above, a crescent; below, a star of six rays. AV. Weight  $20\frac{1}{2}$  grains.
3. Rude figure of a horse galloping to the right: in the field a wheel and several other subordinate symbols. AV. Weight 81 grains.  
R.—Type blurred and undefined; probably a rude attempt to imitate that of the reverse of the coins given by Ruding.\*
4. No legend or type.  
R.—No legend. A horse galloping to the right: above and below, two concentric circles, the latter beaded. AV. Weight 21 grains.
5. No legend or type.  
R.—Type consisting of unknown objects, among which are two latticed circles, and two latticed parallelograms, a crescent, etc.

---

\* Plate ii. figs. 35-38. See also "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," pl. xxii. figs. 7 and 8.



6. Another similar type, but of little workmanship. AV.  
Weight 19 grains.

We proceed to notice these coins *seriatim*. 1st. The example inscribed ↑EPATI. In our "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," p. 185, will be found a description and engravings (pl. xxi. figs. 8, 9) of two coins bearing REX CALLE. These, though strangely enough classed by Combe as Gaulish, we always considered to be the money of a British prince; and they are accordingly placed in that work, with coins of Britannia. In the same page will be found the following note: "There is a silver coin of the same size (as those inscribed REX CALLE) in the collection of the British Museum, having on one side the head of Hercules in the lion's skin, and the letters EPAT. *Rev.* An eagle with expanded wings. It is described and engraved by Combe, pl. 1, fig. 10, among the coins of Gaulish chiefs; but, though the type of the obverse is singular, it is probable this piece is of British origin. Future discoveries may justify its being placed in this series. It was known to Mionnet only through Combe." The example now engraved differs from that in the British Museum, as will be seen by a comparison with that given by Combe, an extremely accurate representation of the coin, which, however, reads EPAT only. Our specimen has very plainly MEPATI, which is doubtless the name of a British prince or chief. But what adds so much to its interest, and strongly warrants this appropriation, is its recent discovery by Mr. Tupper on Farley Heath, near Guildford, Surrey, a site which has been recently explored by that gentleman, and his neighbour Mr. Drummond, M.P., the result being the discovery of numerous Roman coins, pottery, fibulæ, urns, and other objects indicating long possession of the spot by the Romans, or Romanised Britons. That the site in fact

was occupied by the Britons previous to the subjugation of the island, seems highly probable, not only from the discovery of the coin inscribed MEPATI, but also from the finding of that bearing the legend, VERIC. COM. F. REX. This is a novelty in the British series, and cannot fail to be regarded with great interest by English antiquaries. The appearance of such coins, bearing Roman letters, suggests an explanation which further discoveries may help to confirm, and seems to shew that although the Britons, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, may not have been entirely ignorant of the use of a stamped currency (and their intercourse with the Gauls leads us to the inference that they were not), they, nevertheless, had not *a coinage of their own*: that the establishment of petty princes (sons or connections of the arbitrator Comius) in Britain followed the first Roman aggression; and that, judging from the numismatic evidence now in our possession, these princes struck coins with legends in *Roman characters*, and with *Roman titles*, such issues probably continuing till the subjugation of the island by Claudius; when, as Gildas informs us, the currency of the British money was abolished, and only that bearing the imperial effigies allowed to be used.

The history of the four remaining coins we shall give in Mr. Tupper's own words, adding our regret to his that such a combination of ignorance and knavery should have deprived the antiquary of the greater portion of so interesting a numismatic treasure. The coins figs. 5 and 6, appear to be the *prototype* of some rude pieces in the British Museum, which, though of the most barbarous workmanship, plainly exhibit an attempt to imitate the objects on the examples figured in our plate. What these objects are we have failed to discover, and they are left to the interpretation of our readers. Whatever doubts, however, may be enter-



tained as to the signification of the types of the rudest coins engraved in the plate accompanying this brief notice, no one can question the value and importance of the examples Nos. 1 and 2.

On the singular form of the initial character in the legend on the coin No. 1, we forbear at present to remark. The finding of another specimen may throw further light on the pieces thus inscribed.

---

DEAR SIR,—As it is pre-eminently your vocation to chronicle numismatic facts, I am sure that you will be glad to place the following on your records.

On Thursday fortnight last, the 24th of February, a boy, by name Goodchild, was driving a flock of sheep up a parish-road in my immediate neighbourhood; and in the middle of that road, as he stoutly declares, he picked up in a lump, lying all together on the top of some loose stones recently laid upon the road to mend it, forty old gold British coins!

As you yourself, and Mr. Benjamin Nightingale, while recently my guests at Albury, have visited the spot with me, and with me have investigated the matter, I need not tell you how impossible the boy's story seems, unless—as you charitably suggested by way of a saving clause to Master Goodchild's rather questionable veracity—the treasure might have been hidden in a hollow stone, which a passing cart-wheel may have crushed.

Leaving, however, this debateable matter to those who can calculate chances, or probe a keen lad's conscience, the fact, the happy numismatic fact remains, that these coins were found; and it must immediately be followed by

the announcement of another fact—a melancholy utilitarian one—that the greater part of them have since been melted up.

Not until a jeweller at Guildford, one Steer (whose name alone supplies a truthful libel), had put them nearly all into his remorseless crucible, and poured its results into a shapeless ingot, did I get wind of the matter, and, riding over instantly, arrived just in time to save the very few remainder for myself, and my neighbour, Mr. Drummond, these not having been consumed, solely because the crucible could not hold them all at once. When I state that the boy got fifty-three shillings for the golden hoard, it will be manifest that, occasionally, a Steer may be gifted with no small share of worldly wisdom; and when I add to this a description of the coins themselves, it will be equally evident that the precious metal whereof they were composed constituted the least part of their value.

Of the great majority which were melted, as above-mentioned, it would be futile to guess at the types, or to hazard a description of their possible rarity, or uniqueness, from the accounts rendered by Goodchild and Steer; the former saying that on several of them he could read two D's, and the latter maintaining that the whole lot were Indian. But those which I have rescued are sufficiently interesting, being of three different types and weights, and they may be thus described.

The largest, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  dwts., bears obversely the well-known type of a horse leaping over a wheel, with four annulets placed respectively on each above the back, under the belly, before the breast, and beneath the tail; two ovals, one over the head, and one behind the tail; a rose, or rayed figure of three concentric circles near the mouth; and several dots, with curved lines attached, occupying the



field. I am thus particular, because it is possible, to my thinking, that all these emblems may have been intended to represent the sidereal heavens: the sun and moon being symbolized by the wheel and rayed figure; the planets by the annulets; comets by the ovals; and the stars in their courses by the curves and dots: while the prancing horse may imaginatively have symbolized power, swiftness, and some other attributes of the monarch, human or divine. The reverse of this coin, instead of being quite plain and button-shaped, as usual, bears a rude cross compounded of several serrated lines. Of these large coins the boy found nineteen, some of them with D's, or, as I suppose, rude eyes upon them; and all were melted up but two!

The second species, weighing about a dwt., is of much coarser work, with no tracery on the field, and bearing only a barbarous horse, leaping between two rude scrolls: the reverse is quite plain. Of these I could not ascertain the number; and I do know of more than one which has survived the crucible.

The third species of coin is very remarkable, of great rarity, and totally unlike any ancient British or Gaulish coin which I ever saw before. Of this type some six have been preserved. (See plate, figs 5 and 6).

In conclusion, I have only to request that you will add to this letter, by way of annotation or commentary, whatever your own knowledge can suggest by way of confirmation or correction; and I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER.

ALBURY, GUILDFORD,

March 13, 1848.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

VOL. XI.

O

## VIII.

## ON A MEDALLION OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

It is a common complaint among collectors, that Time, which is daily unveiling the mysteries of antiquity, and bringing to light new treasures to enrich the cabinets of Grecian coins, has, of late years, been much less favourable to Rome. Several centuries have passed away, with scarcely any appreciable addition to the consular series; and even the imperial has received no increase at all commensurate with its variety and extent. The lacunæ which were deplored by the collectors of days gone by, still remain as blots in the cabinets of their successors, and the fond hopes which antiquaries did once indulge of a first brass Otho, are now all but extinguished by repeated and continual disappointments.

In this dearth of novelties, I have thought that an impression of an unique and unpublished medallion of Antoninus Pius, which I lately received from abroad, will prove acceptable to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle. It may be described as follows:—

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TRP. XVIII.  
Laureated head of emperor to the right.

*R.*—The emperor, in senatorial robes, is seated on a curule chair towards the left. In his left hand is a volume. With his right he receives six ears of corn, which Ceres, who stands in front of him, is offering. Behind him is a Victory, who crowns him with her right hand, while her left holds a palm branch. In the exergue, COS IIII.



This medallion is covered with dark green patina, and appears to be of copper only, and not furnished, as is often the case, with an exterior rim of brass. With respect to these rims, it may be remarked, that they were evidently put on before the medals were struck, as the impression of the die often extends beyond the extreme limit of the central piece of metal.

The motives which induced the Romans to strike these medallions are quite unknown. Eckhel (vol. i., p. xvii.), thinks it most probable that they were struck on occasions of solemn festivals and public donations. Be this as it may, the singular elegance of their fabric, and their high relief at once remove them from the class of ordinary coins, while the subjects of their reverses, usually devoid of historical interest, appear scarcely to have deserved the artistic skill and labour which was evidently expended on them<sup>1</sup>. In the present medallion, for instance, one may look in vain over the annals of the emperor's fourth consulate for any event to which one can point with certainty, as having been the moving cause of this most exquisite production of the Roman mint. Whether the omission of the letters S.C. denotes simply that these pieces were not intended for currency, or whether that they were struck by order of the emperors themselves, is still a disputed point. The former supposition, however, is supported by two medallions of Hadrian, both of which were formerly in the writer's collection, though one has since been ceded to the Museum. The reverses, like Akerman, pl. A, are from the same die, but one of the specimens is formed of two metals, and bears on the obverse a medallion likeness of Hadrian to the left, in high relief, and of a character

---

<sup>1</sup> Their devices seem to have been confined to the commemoration of Myths and popular traditions.—ED. N. C.

totally distinct from that published by Akerman; while the obverse of the other differs in no respect from an ordinary first brass. From this it is evident that medallions were struck in the same office as the common brass currency of the empire, and therefore probably under the same authority, namely, that of the senate.

G. SPARKES.



## MISCELLANEA.

TABLES OF FRENCH AND NEAPOLITAN WEIGHTS.—Having lately been engaged in studying the weights of the coins of Magna Græcia, I soon found the necessity of constructing tables which would enable me at a glance, to convert the French and Neapolitan weights of Mionnet and Carelli into Troy grains; and as without some such labour, or some such assistance, those valuable works are likely to remain as sealed books to British students, I would submit the utility of printing the tables in the Chronicle, and thus giving them circulation. It is only necessary to observe that in the French table, the Troy grain is estimated at 1·2189 of the marc grain, and that in the Neapolitan table, the proportion laid down by Avellino, of 1 Neapolitan grain = 0·05134 gramme, has been adhered to, while the gramme has been converted into Troy at 15·434 grains. As Carelli uses no larger weight than the grain, it would have been endless to calculate every possible number, but it will be found that all between 110 and 162 have been given; these are about the extreme limits of the weights of the most important Italian coins, *i.e.*, the didrachms. And with respect to other weights not given, they may always be found by simple addition; thus, to find 37, add together the equivalents of 30 and of 7, both of which have been calculated in the tables.

G. SPARKES.

TABLE FOR CONVERTING GROS AND GRAINS OF THE MARC INTO TROY.

Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.
1	0·82039	13	10·66	25	20·50
2	1·64	14	11·48	26	21·32
3	2·46	15	12·30	27	22·14
4	3·28	16	13·12	28	22·96
5	4·10	17	13·94	29	23·78
6	4·92	18	14·76	30	24·60
7	5·74	19	15·58	31	25·42
8	6·56	20	16·40	32	26·24
9	7·38	21	17·22	33	27·06
10	8·20	22	18·04	34	27·88
11	9·02	23	18·86	35	28·70
12	9·84	24	19·68	36	29·53

Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.	Grains marc.	Grains Troy.
37	30.35	53	43.47	69	56.59
38	31.17	54	44.29	70	57.41
39	31.99	55	45.11	71	58.23
40	32.81	56	45.93	72 or	} 59.06808
41	33.63	57	46.75	1 gros	
42	34.45	59	47.57	2	118.13616
43	35.27	58	48.39	3	177.20424
44	36.09	60	49.21	4	236.27232
45	36.91	61	50.03	5	295.34040
46	37.73	62	50.85	6	354.40848
47	38.55	63	51.67	7	413.47656
48	39.37	64	52.49	8	472.54464
49	40.19	65	53.31	9	531.61272
50	41.01	66	54.13	10	590.68080
51	41.83	67	54.95	11	649.74888
52	42.65	68	55.77	12	708.81696

TABLE OF NEAPOLITAN WEIGHTS.

Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.	Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.	Grains Neap.	Grains Troy.
1	0.792134616	122	96.63	145	114.84
2	1.58	123	97.42	146	115.63
3	2.37	124	98.21	147	116.43
4	3.16	125	99.01	148	117.22
5	3.96	126	99.80	149	118.01
6	4.75	127	100.59	150	118.81
7	5.53	128	101.38	151	119.60
8	6.32	129	102.17	152	120.39
9	7.12	130	102.97	153	121.18
10	7.92	131	103.76	154	121.97
20	15.84	132	104.55	155	122.77
30	23.76	133	105.34	156	123.56
40	31.68	134	106.11	157	124.35
50	39.60	135	106.93	158	125.14
60	47.52	136	107.72	159	125.93
70	55.44	137	108.51	160	126.73
80	63.36	138	109.30	161	127.52
90	71.28	139	110.09	162	128.41
100	79.21	140	110.89	200	158.42
110	87.13	141	111.68	300	237.63
115	91.09	142	112.47	400	316.84
120	95.05	143	113.26		
121	95.84	144	114.05		



The following extracts may amuse the collectors of English medals:—

From the *Northampton Mercury*, March 19th, 1738-9.

London, March 13th, 1738-9.

“ We hear that the fine Medal of Milton, lately struck at the Tower, will be made publick, and sold by Mr. Deard’s in the Court of Requests, and in Fleet Street. The Copper will be half a Guinea; the Silver one Guinea; and the Gold, which weighs above three ounces, 14*l*. a Piece.”

---

*Northampton Mercury*, July 10th, 1738.

London, July 6.

“ A Curious Dye of Oliver Cromwell, cut in London during his Usurpation, was lately purchas’d in Flanders, and brought to the Tower, where the Hon. Richard Arundell, Esq. has given leave for a certain Number to be struck in Gold and Silver for the Curious.”

E. P.

---

## CORRESPONDENCE.

---

X. X.—The medal is a forgery, which ought not to deceive the veriest Tyro in Numismatic Science. Though it has been described and engraved in various books, from Waser, in 1605, down to Doctor Walsh, in 1828, it has been tossed aside by every one pretending to practical knowledge of coins, as a worthless bauble, too ill contrived to deceive even Jobert, who honestly says of it, "*quoiqu'elle eût pu être faite par quelque Juif converti au Christianisme* (which is not likely), *est cependant une de ces médailles dont les curieux ne doivent faire aucun état*" (Science de Méd. tom. i. page 305). We should not have ventured on this long note, but the same medal has been again engraved and described in a work avowedly written to prove the truth of revelation! Few of our readers will require to have this piece described; but we subjoin a description, for the information of those who have not seen a copy, assuring them that the style of the work, the letters, and the whole character of the piece, could never impose for one moment on any person at all acquainted with Numismatic monuments.

*Obv.*—The portrait of our Saviour, between the letters א and the word ישי.

*Rev.*—Inscription occupying the field, in five lines, משיח מלך בא בשלום ואור אדם עשוי חי.







N



N

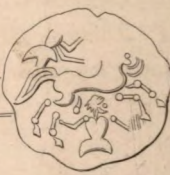


N



4

N



BIL



6

N



N



8

N



N



Æ



N



N



N



## IX.

### CHOROGRAPHICAL GREEK COINS.

THE medallions of Syracuse are to the coinage of Greece, what the Elgin marbles, the works of Pheidias, are to its sculpture—the most perfect productions of their kind; unequalled in later ages, unrivalled even in Hellenic. Regarded, moreover, as a series, and studied in connection with the other coins of the same city, and still more, if compared with the numismatic monuments of Sicily generally, and Magna Græcia, they furnish most exquisite illustration of the progress of the art, and the succession of phases in which beauty and grace were revealed to the Hellenic race. Parallel with the variation of art, is that of the palæography of their legends. To furnish an exposition of these variations in all their numerous details, and as susceptible of very precise arrangement in sequence and synchrony, would be to furnish an interesting chapter to the history of art; and will be a worthy labour of love for those who have materials within reach, and leisure at command. The Duc de Luynes has already opened the subject, with a degree of success that encourages and excites to emulation.

The types of the Syracusan medallions, and tetradrachms, are very uniform in general character, though endlessly varied in detail and treatment. The work of Torremuzzi gives a multitude of examples; but the defective representation of the art, and careless falsification of the palæography, render it useless as an instrument for

truly historical analysis. The noble collection of the British Museum contains a series of specimens, which probably exhibit every characteristic of importance.

The prevailing types and combinations are, a female head on one side, with fish in the area; on the reverse, a quadriga, with Nikè flying above, and a symbol in the exergue.

With respect to the female head, on later coins Pallas and Artemis are recognised by helmet and quiver, and Arethusa, nymph of the fount, and Korè, by their inscribed names; but on others, early and late, of archaic and of finished style, more uncertainty prevails. We may choose or hesitate between Demeter and Korè; between Cyane, nymph of the fountain where Hades sunk into the earth with his prize, and Arethusa, nymph of the stream that fled through the sea from the pursuing Alpheus, to rise in the island of Ortygia, the primitive seat of the city; or we may even consider the claims of Ortygia herself invoked by Pindar, and personified as the favoured of Zeus.

Cicero informs us that the most important temples of Ortygia, the *vâsos*, also occupied by the palace of Syracusan royalty, were sacred to Pallas and Artemis. According to Diodorus, it was presented by Zeus to the latter, whose festival continued, to the last fatal scene of Syracusan independence, to be celebrated with extraordinary splendour and intentness. The Artemis of Ortygia stood also in peculiar relation to the fountain Arethusa; a relation abundantly illustrated by the commentators on Pindar, and the historian of the Doric race. The colonists from Elis brought with them the mythus of the attendant of Artemis, beloved and pursued by the river Alpheus, transformed into a stream, and still pursued. But the goddess is scarcely distinguishable from her nymph. Artemis was



worshipped in Elis as goddess of founts and flowing waters, as *ποταμία*, as Alpheusa, and with the Alpheus she had an altar in common at Olympia. Pindar styles Ortygia, "seat of fluvial Artemis;" and she herself is described in a fragment of Telesilla, as flying from Alpheus (Bergk, p. 742).

In Pindar, also, we find the Ortygian Artemis celebrated as patroness of the chariot race, the pride and ambition of the Sicilian magnates; and thus, on some of the coins, she holds the reins; while, on others, we may presume that the same propriety dictates the association of her head with the type of a quadriga, symbol of curule victories and contests, probably in her own Sicilian festival. At Elis, her earlier seat, according to Strabo, festivals were celebrated in her honour as Alpheiusa and as Daphnia; and Pausanias tells us that the *κοτινος*, that furnished the proper crown of the Olympian victor, particularly delighted in the waters of the Alpheus; and this may have been enough to suggest the laurel crown of the goddess or her nymph, on some of the archaic specimens.

As far, therefore, as local and mythical proprieties are demanded, we are at no loss for representatives of the Syracusan types; but the attempt to identify and appropriate them, is beset with difficulties, and involves questions which I do not care to consider, while the best evidence is practically out of my reach; and which, indeed, might, probably enough, baffle me, were the case otherwise; I am happy, therefore, to be able to decline the enquiry with a fair pretext. Candidly be it said, not only the misfortunes of our best friends, according to the limited humanity of Rochefoucault, but even our own, are apt to involve some circumstances wonderfully consolatory, if not a positive gratification.

It is not very easy, however, to take final leave of a subject so attractive as Greek numismatics without attempting to say one pertinent word on the subject of the Syracusan coins, on some minor point at least, however insignificant.

Müller (Handbuch, 364-7) distinguishes the heads of Artemis Potamia and Arethusa, with more positiveness than I think can be justified; but, at least, he does not appear to have participated in the error of some, who assume the fish of the area to be those which abounded in the waters of Cyane and Arethusa. Not to mention that they equally accompany the head of Pallas, it is enough to notice, that they are dolphins,—sooth to say,—the porpoises of the moderns; and, to place in a fountain the fish of the sea, is a blunder classical in English ballad literature. Here, therefore, they represent the sea. The waters of rivers and lakes are always appropriately represented on the coins by fish of a different form, as on the coins of Gela, Camarina, etc.; and these, I do not doubt, are to be recognised as particular species in the ichthyology of the island.

True it is, that on some coins, as, for instance, the fine specimen in the collection of Lord Northwick, bearing the inscribed head, front face, of Arethusa, small dolphins are visible among her floating locks; but the incongruity is readily explained by reference to the submarine passage of the fount, which sunk at Elis to rise again, after a passage through the brine, with unsullied waters, at Sicilian Ortygia. The locality still exhibits the remarkable natural phenomenon, which is of a class that among the Greeks was ever suited with a fable. "The fountain," says Captain Smyth, "though earthquakes have divided its channels and sullied its sweetness, is still not inconsiderable. At about eighty feet from it, a copious spring rises from the



bottom of the harbour with such force, that it does not intermingle with the salt water till it gains the surface."

The strictness with which we are justified, and bound indeed, to interpret the symbols of the coins, will appear by comparison of the archaic coins of Zancle, which form the subject of a highly interesting paper by Mr. Burgon, in an earlier number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. They present a sickle-formed type, representing the remarkable curved and narrow promontory that forms the harbour of the city, the modern Messina. A number of prominences at intervals along the type, appear to represent a series of bastions, if not rather towers. The enclosed central space is occupied by a dolphin, thus the type of the water enclosed by the embracing land; and the coin itself, representing the very plan of the remarkable basin, as seen from the heights at the back of the harbour, may claim to stand first on the list of Greek coins of analogous types,—the chorographical series we may call them,—probably more numerous than at present is supposed.

Next on the list we may rank, I believe, the medallions and tetradrachms of Syracuse. On the earlier specimens, it will be observed that the dolphins are arranged at equal distances all round the female head in the centre; which, moreover, is circled by an inner ring. The sea-fish, in fact, swim freely in the channel that flows around the insular nymph, whether we name her the nymph Ortygia herself, or Arethusa, or Artemis Potamia, of whom Ortygia was the resting-place and seat. The arrangement of the types reverses that of the Zancle coins, as the relations of land and sea are contrasted in the two localities. Here we have the central island and circumfluent waves; as there, the central basin and the strip of enclosing land.

These relations underwent a change at Ortygia, and the

types were accommodated accordingly. The island was connected with the opposite land by a dam in the time of Gelon, or earlier. It became, as it remains, a promontory; and the subsequent coins exhibit the dolphins, no longer following each other in a circle all round the area, but confined to one side, or, at least, extending but three parts round, and usually, one at least of them swims to meet the rest. This latter distinction is particularly to be remarked, as decisive, on those few coins of later workmanship, on which the *peninsular* arrangement might otherwise appear but equivocally indicated by the intervals between the fish. The *peninsular* distribution of the dolphins occurs on other Sicilian coins, besides those of Syracuse; and always, so far as my opportunities of observation allow me to speak with positiveness, in agreement with the local situation. Among others, it occurs on the coins of fine style with Punic inscriptions, usually assigned to Panormus; also on the coins of Motya, where it is peculiarly appropriate, from the site of the town being, like Ortygia, a promontory that had been originally an island. On the other hand, the *insular* distribution occurs on the small silver coins which I find in the drawer assigned to Panormus in the British Museum, but that, I have no doubt, should be transferred to some locality in better accordance with the type. On the reverse, they bear Poseidon, seated, holding a dolphin in the left hand; in the right, his trident.

On the beautiful coins of Camarina, on the south coast of Sicily, we have, on one side, a female seated on a swan, of which she embraces the arched neck with her right arm; her left hand elevating her robe, that bellies like a sail with the wind. The swan breasts the water, indicated by the usual undulating figure; below which, and also in



the field behind the swan, is a fish, not, on the specimens that I have seen, a dolphin. The inscription KAMAPINA is apparently the name of the lady, the lady of the lake, the *εγχορίαν λίμναν* of Pindar, which the oracle that passed into a proverb, enjoined to leave alone. Recklessly enough I am violating the injunction at this moment, but Eckhel has set an example by some bold conjectures, and this one more may be added, that the arching robe of the lady is not without allusion to the root *καμαρα*, an *arch*, *bow*, *chamber*. The obverse of the coin bears a youthful male head, with the budding horns of a river-god, Hipparis, who appears on other coins of the city with his name inscribed. Above either shoulder is a fresh-water fish, and these, with the river-god himself, are enclosed within a circle of regular undulations, or curling border, which, according to Noehden, expresses the water of the river, as the fish its productions.

But there must be more in it. Explanation is still required of the peculiarity of the arrangement, which, from its elegance, would appear to invite imitation, yet seems to have remained unimitated, and thus, we may presume, had a special propriety here, superior to mere considerations of taste and effect. The analogies of the coins of Syracuse and Zancle, direct us to chorography for an elucidation; and the Scholiast on Pindar furnishes the required details. The river Hipparis, that watered the plain of Camarina, flowed through the lake; and I have no hesitation in referring the curling circlet of the coin to the margin of the lake, with Hipparis in the midst,—the immersed and emerging river-god.

The arrangement of the types on this coin may be illustrated by the coin of Magnesia on the Mæander; on which the rushing bull, the usual type of a river, and here of the humped Asiatic species, is surrounded by a combina-

tion of lines, representing the mazy windings of the stream; an ear of corn in the field expresses the fertile plain. The same mazy type occurs on the coins of Apollonia in Caria, and Apamea in Phrygia, both situated on the Mæander; otherwise the concern of Magnesians from Crete, in the settlement of the Ionian colony, might tempt us to regard the type as a reminiscence of Cretan symbolism, the figure that represents the labyrinth.

These Cretan coins may also be claimed as chorographical in principle, notwithstanding the variations in the figure, as indifferently composed of right lines, circular or tortuous. On the reference of the star in the centre to Asterion, the proper name of the Minotaur, its monstrous inhabitant, I have spoken in the essay on the coins of Selinus. Another Asiatic city, Pergamus, presents a type on its coinage that claims notice here. I am indebted to Mr. Burgon for the indication that the two bull's heads, face to face, represent the relative position of the two small rivers, Selinus and Citius, that washed the walls of the city on opposite sides.

The bull on the archaic coins of Sybaris, is, no doubt, a river-bull; but why is its head turned back? The conjecture is obvious, that it was to express some peculiarity in the course of the stream. When the city was taken by the Crotoniats, they are said to have turned the river through the site, and a temple and grove were dedicated to Athenè Krathis in the drained bed. The operation, as related, appears to imply that a bend of the river was drained by uniting the channel in a direct line. When the devastated city was replaced by a later colony, the bull re-appears; but now, with lowered horns, and rushing directly forwards, in allusion, it may be, to the altered course of the stream. The rushing bull is also a speaking symbol



of the name of the town, Thuriî, but the agreement of the two is probably caused by common derivation from the same natural characteristic of the site.

To return to Sicily: on the early coins of Leontini, an inland settlement, ears of corn occupy the place and arrangement that, on the Syracusan coins of the same style and period, are assigned to the dolphins. Three or four grains of corn, arranged angularly round a female head, appear to represent the disposition around the city of the *Campi Leontini*, so celebrated in antiquity for their cereal productiveness. The site of the town was in other respects so remarkable, and so clearly brought before us in the description of Polybius, that it is disappointing not to find a more artificial chorographical illustration.

On some of the coins the central place is occupied by a lion's head, yawning and with protruded tongue. The connection of the type with the name of the city is obvious, though it is quite as probable that the name of the city was selected with reference to the type, a tradition of the locality, as the reverse. A gaping lion's head was not employed so universally in Greek art, as the ornament of fountains and water-spouts, without some special suggestiveness and propriety. Plutarch derives the custom from Egypt (Sympos. iv. 5, 2.), from the rise of the Nile occurring on the entrance of the Sun into Leo. But this again is but a secondary derivation, and we may quite as safely rest in recognising the gaping head and protruded tongue of the beast as natural expressions of thirst, and therefore the appropriate emblems of the parched season of the year, the scorching station of the sun. The colour of this particular beast of prey, its fierceness and power, the heat of the countries where it chiefly abounded, its natural haunts in dry seasons, are all considerations which

would at least help to sustain its significance, as associated with ideas of heat and moisture, if it is rash to infer that they furnished the origin of it<sup>1</sup>. I think therefore there is ground enough to connect both the name of the city and its corresponding type with a peculiarity in the local water-service of the district, for information on which we are again indebted to Captain Smyth (*Sicily and its Islands*, p. 158). "Near Lentini," he says, "is situated a lake called Burere, a sheet of water, in its greatest winter extent, about nineteen miles in circumference, but which, decreasing, as the sun advances, to eight or nine, leaves, a feculent bed of mud and marsh on its banks, that, during the summer-exhalations, teems with pestilence and death."

We need not scruple to assume that this modern description is sufficiently in accordance with the ancient circumstances of the place, however modified by Greek art and intelligence; in the head of the thirsty lion, we may therefore recognise the appropriate type of that natural condition, which affected so powerfully and remarkably the state of the district.

The crouched position of the satyr, seated on the ground on the fine coins of Naxos, may be considered as expressing the Bacchic cave of the place that Porphyry mentions in his dissertation on the cave of the nymphs. The exuberant fertility of the district is noticed by Smyth, as well as its enormous annual produce of wine, sufficiently explaining the prevalence of Dionysiac symbolism on the coins of the ancient city. The satyrs of our coins, it

---

<sup>1</sup> The lions seize a bull by the river side on the shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, xviii. 576). Compare also the simile of the troop of wolves, animals frequent in light-symbolism, lapping with thin tongues at the dark fountain (*Iliad*, xvi. 161).



may be observed, belong to the troop that furnished the chorus of the Cyclops of Euripides, the scene of the adventure of Ulysses being usually recognised in the immediate vicinity, between Naxos and Catana.

The brass coins of Lilybæum furnish one more illustration of Sicilian numismatic chorography—a female head with turret crown is enclosed within a triangle, formed of three waved lines irregularly scalloped inwards. Eckhel approves of the interpretation, that the enclosing figure is a form of the Sicilian symbol, the triquetra, and, like that, represents the island with its three promontories (the three-pronged island, as it is called in the *Argonautica*), one of which was occupied by the city of Lilybæum. I suspect, however,—indeed I do not doubt—that we have here a representation, as in other instances, half chorographic, half symbolical, of the fortified *enceinte* of this celebrated stronghold. Lilybæum was one of the most celebrated fortified cities of antiquity; situated on a promontory, the approach to it by sea was beset with dangers to all but experienced pilots; it was surrounded by walls strengthened by numerous towers, and on the land side it was farther protected by a trench, described by Diodorus as sixty feet wide, and forty feet deep. Thus defended, it defied the most determined attacks of Pyrrhus, and afterwards of the Romans, and only came into the possession of the latter by surrender, under a general treaty. The turret, or rather perhaps the tower-crowned head of the personified city, is therefore particularly appropriate; but if we regard the triangle as representing, not the fortified promontory, but the island itself, we stumble on the incongruity of the occupant of the angle, installed in and engrossing the centre. Thus placed, the head could scarcely be other than the genius of the island, but, other

objections apart, the position of Lilybæum was scarcely such as at any time to justify such an extended allusion.

On the coins of Corcyra a symbol occurs, common also to those of its colonies on the opposite mainland, Apollonia and Dyrrachium, which was conjectured by some of the earliest Numismatists to represent the gardens of Alcinous. The interpretation was accepted by Eckhel, but has still not remained uncontested, and I am not aware of any arguments hitherto adduced in favour of it that can be said to give it higher authority than belongs to a mere conjecture, unassailed by others of greater plausibility. The following considerations appear to me to furnish the conclusive proof required.

The figure may be described as consisting of a pair of parallelograms, sometimes placed side by side, on later specimens end to end. The first arrangement favours the conjecture of Panofka<sup>2</sup> that they may represent folding-doors, but their later disposition is against it, and still more the assumption by the type, in some instances, of a circular form. Each quadrangle is divided transversely by a row of three small dots, and longitudinally and diagonally by drop-shaped projections, which form together a combination not unlike the thunderbolt, especially in what may be called its floral form, as frequently seen on the vases. On the earlier coins, however, the figure appears treated angularly, and on the later it approaches the model of a flower rather than a bolt. The earlier coins are our safest guides to the original intention, and on these there is constantly a remarkable difference between the figures

---

Archaol. Zeitung, 1848, p. 73.



in the coupled quadrangles, the central dot in one being enclosed in a square, that of the other in a lozenge.

The Corcyræans, it is well known, claimed for their island the honour of having been described by Homer as Scheria, realm of Alcinous, whose palace and city, and especially whose gardens, are so elaborately described in the *Odyssey*. Immediately in front of the chief door of the palace, the garden extended, in form a quadrangle, enclosed on every side, and allotted into orchard, vineyard, and garden for herbs or vegetables, laid out in regular beds or borders. One fountain furnished water which was conducted to all parts of it, while another flowed to the palace, and supplied the wants of the citizens.

This description of the rectangular division and enclosure of the gardens, is certainly very strikingly in agreement with the figure on the coin, though we may not insist on the central square and lozenge as representing the pair of variously distributed fountains, or endeavour to distinguish the triple partition of the description; and we come back to the position, that the symbols are more like the gardens of Alcinous than anything else. The interpretation is supported by the association with the figure, on some specimens, of a bunch of grapes and a cantharus, expressing the produce of the gardens that bloomed in all seasons, and where the ripe and ripening grapes hung ever side by side. On another coin the bunch of grapes in the centre of the field appears to take the place of the gardens that produced it, and a wreath, not of vine leaves, surrounding it, completes the expression of the varied produce ascribed by Homer to the surprising horticulture of the Phæacians.

The occurrence of the symbol, however, on the coins of Apollonia, enables us to press the proof still closer. On numerous coins of this city three nymphs are represented

dancing round a volcano or mass of flames, evidently the goddesses of the Nymphaion, the sanctuary mentioned by so many ancient authorities, by the fiery Asphalt fount. (Cf. Hoffman, p. 235.) A Nymphaion implies a garden; and, even without the information of Plutarch and Dion Cassius, we should have been justified in assuming that the precincts of the fane were verdant with meads and varied plantations. This, however, would still leave the question open, whether the citizens of Apollonia placed on their coins the symbol of the sacred garden of their own district, in which tradition said that the satyr had been caught sleeping,<sup>3</sup> as Herodotus tells of his capture in the rose-gardens of Mount Bermion<sup>4</sup>, or not rather the transferred type of the Corcyraean metropolis, the orchard of Phæacia.

This question is, however, settled by a coin representing the same volcano that is danced round by the nymphs, as enclosed within the symbolical quadrangle, which is therefore established as the sacred enclosure of the Nymphaion, where the stream of burning bitumen flowed through borders of uninjured verdure, and the curious into futurity gathered omens of their lot from the caprices of the fire, on any subject whatever, with the important exceptions of Matrimony and Death<sup>5</sup>. On these catastrophes alone, for reasons no doubt, in either case, of equal considerateness, the goddesses kept closed the book of fate.

The club that lies within the enclosure beside the fount, has obvious reference to the *κτιστής* of the city, a Herakleid from Corinth<sup>6</sup>.

Hercules himself was claimed by Dyrrachium or Epi-

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Sylla, 27.

<sup>4</sup> viii. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Cass. xli. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. i.



damnus, as their founder (Appian, *Illyric*. 2). That the Epidamnians dedicated at Olympia a group of Hesperides, may be accepted as proof that they connected his visit to their locality with his expedition to the garden of the daughters of Atlas. Nevertheless, from the Apollonian analogy, I incline to assert for the Epidamnian symbol of a garden, an Epidamnian original.

This illustration of Numismatic chorography, it will be seen, is intended as suggestive, by no means set forth as exhaustive; and even if some of my instances should be contested, not to say controverted, I do not doubt that others, at present unnoticed, will step forward and take their places, to stand siege and do battle for the principle implicated.

14th June, 1848.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

---

## X.

### PROPOSED INTERPRETATION OF THE NUMERALS XCVI. ON THE COINS OF DIOCLETIAN.

On some of the coins of Diocletian and his cotemporaries, the letters XCVI fill up the centre of the reverse. Different explanations have been given of this singular type, but Echkel (vol. viii. p. 507) considers them all unsatisfactory, and I fear that the one now about to be offered, will, from its mere simplicity, cause, at first sight, a smile rather than conviction.

My idea then is that these letters signify nothing more than that XCVI, i.e. 96, denarii were struck to the pound. The letters A Q or T, which are sometimes added, are of course the initials of the mint, as Aquilegia, etc.

Before giving any reasons for this explanation, I must answer an objection which may be made *in limine*, and which, if sustained, would be fatal, viz., that several authors assert that other letters, as VCVI and VCVC, do sometimes occur. Eckhel (p. 507) doubts the existence of these pieces; but even if we admit their authenticity, the similarity of the letters they bear to the ordinary XCVI is so great, that we may fairly attribute the variations to the blunders of moneyers in distant mints.

It is well known, that under Galba the denarius was definitely fixed at 96 per lb., and that it so remained through many succeeding reigns. The weight seems to have been kept up long after the standard had been debased, but finally both one and the other gave way, and about the time of Probus the silver coinage of Rome may be said to have ceased altogether.

When therefore Diocletian revived it in all its integrity, and struck coins resembling, both in weight and fineness, those of the earlier emperors, but to which the public had been long strangers, is there anything unreasonable in supposing that the letters XCVI, which are found impressed on silver denarii, and on them only, may have been intended to indicate their weight and value?

The idea is supported by the fact that the coins of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximinus, which bear this type, were all struck while those princes were still Cæsars, that is, during the reign of Diocletian. When the new coinage had been sufficiently long in circulation, the impress of its value was omitted as unnecessary. Perhaps, after a few more years, the Master of our own mint in England will think it superfluous to point out the distinction between "SIX-PENCE," and "ONE-SHILLING."

If these views be admitted, it will follow that this great



restoration of the silver coinage did not take place much before A. D. 292, when the two above-named princes were created Cæsars, and indeed no silver coin either of Diocletian or Maximianus Hercules is known, whose type or legend requires it to be placed in any earlier period of their reign.

That the coins of Diocletian and his cotemporaries really do weigh the same as those of Galba and his successors will be seen by referring to the tables in Akerman's Roman Coins, pp. 16 and 18. Five in my own collection give an average of 50·6 grains, and are quite as heavy as some equally well preserved specimens of Titus and Vespasian. The full weight, according to Letronne, p. 52, obtained from an average of 100 coins of Trajan, would be about a grain more.

GEORGE SPARKES.

---

## XI.

PEHLEVI LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE LAST SASSANIAN KINGS, OF THE EARLY ARABIAN KHALIFS, OF THE ISPEHBEDS OF TABERISTAN, AND ON THE INDO-PERSIC COINS OF EASTERN IRAN. BY DR. JULIUS OLSHAUSEN. COPENHAGEN, 1843.

*(Concluded from page 92.)*

### CHAP. II.—ON THE EARLIEST COINS OF THE ARAB GOVERNORS OF PERSIA.

BESIDES the coins of Tapúristan, with the names of Arab governors, we find others with Pehlevi legends and the same appellations, but without the designation of any

VOL. XI.

R

particular province. I have not been fortunate enough to have seen any of these in original, and have to depend upon a couple of casts, and some not altogether satisfactory engravings. The general style of the coins resembles those of Tapúristan. On the obverse is the bust of the king similarly formed, to the right, with the winged crown. The word *Afzud* is behind the head, and there is a similar mint-mark over the one half of the term. The names are in front of the head, and the dates are on the reverse to the left. Other legends take the place of Tapúristan on the right of the reverse.

Of these coins, the first are those on which the name of the celebrated Hejaj ben Yusaf may be read in Kufic characters. I have before me the cast of a coin from the British Museum (noted, Payne Knight, p. 205, xviii. A. I.), on which the name Al Hejaj may be clearly read on an upper line, and Yusaf on a lower, although the word *ben* which should come between them is not distinguishable. If it is there, the descending curve of the Arabic *n* must have been combined calligraphically with the ascending line of the *f*. There can be no doubt, however, as to the person. We may also read on the margin of the obverse in Kufic letters, the usual formula, *Bism-illah* بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ "In the name of God." On the reverse, is the date of the year in Pehlevi *hashtád*, eighty. The *t* in this word more resembles the Zend than the Pehlevi letter, but we cannot propose any other reading. Finally, in the place of Tapúristan we have marks which I cannot recognize as genuine Pehlevi characters, and suspect to be merely mint-marks.

Von Fraehn published, in the year 1822, in the second volume of the transactions of the Courland Society, an engraving of a coin of Hejaj, which was afterwards, in



1824, republished in the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. iv. pl. iii., but the original was badly copied. It appears to me that not only the Kufic inscription *Al Hejaj ben Yusuf* and the marginal legend *Bism-Allah: la Allah ila Allah wa Mohammed Rasul Allah*—"In the name of God: there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God," are to be distinctly made out, but also the date of the year may be decyphered easily on the reverse. I read it without hesitation, *Hasht-haftád*, seventy-eight. The years 78-80 of the Hijra, answer perfectly to those in which Hejaj was governor of Irak and Khorasan. The Pehlevi legend here undoubtedly also gives the years of the Hijra, and the coin is consequently fifty years and more, older than the earliest coins of Khurshid. The reverse of this coin has to the right in Pehlevi, *Senet*, i. e. سنة year. I regret that we have not in the *Journ. Asiatique*, iv. p. 336, engravings of the coins described as Nos. X. and XI., the first of which, with the "Bismillah" on the margin, is perhaps identical with the London coin above noticed. The second has the legend *Al hamdo l'illah*, "glory to God" on the margin. Both belong to those coins of which Makrizi makes mention, as cited by De Sacy (*Traité des Monum. Mus.* p. 18), and are not earlier than Hijra 76. But as, according to Von Fraehn (*Bull. de l'Académie Imp.*, tom. i. No. 6), no silver coins were known to the Arabs before Hijra 79, the consideration of a coin which bears the date Hijra 78, is not without interest. Of the Göttingen coin with the name "Beshar," we might suspect it to go back as far as Hijra 71; in which case it would be the oldest known coin bearing the name of an Arab Governor in Kufic letters. I have, however, some other coins to produce which bear Arabic names in Pehlevi characters, and which, it must be admitted, are among the most early of

those struck under the authority of the Arabs in Persia. They are:—

1. The coin given by Marsden, Num. Orient. No. *dxl*. On the obverse we have in the usual place, behind the head, the word *Afzud*; above it, in two lines perfectly legible, are the name *Omar*, as on the coins of Tapúristan of 120—125, then a detached mark, to be read *i*, and which should, no doubt, be connected with *Omar*, as the grammatical ending, *Omar-i*. The second line has a long word, which, at the first glance, might be read *ubitarhan*, but which, on closer examination, I find to be *Ubid-allah-án* which is the old Persian form of the patronymic of the Arabic name عبيد الله. The final *d* of the first word is represented by the Pehlevi *t*; while in the genuine Persian words which we have hitherto met with, the change of *d* to *t* occurred only in those words in which the *t* was originally used. The second part of the name *Allah* could not well be expressed in Pehlevi otherwise than by *a*, *r* and *a*, for the alphabet from the first wanted an *l*, and the sound was only later discriminated by an apostrophe from that of *r*. The doubling of a consonant ending one syllable and beginning another (as in the *ll* of *Allah*) is unknown in Pehlevi, and the final aspirate would not be pronounced—*Allah* therefore becomes *Arâ*. The patronymic termination *án* is familiar to Oriental scholars, as in *Ardeshir-i-Babegan*—“*Ardeshir, the son of Babek.*” So we have *Omar-i-Ubid-Allah-an*—“*Omar, the son of Ubid Allah.*”

The Kufic inscription on the margin of this coin is *L'illahi al hamdo*—“*Praise be to God.*” It is probably the same which is described in the *Journ. Asiatique*, tom. iv. under No. xii. On the reverse is the word *senet*, year, in the same situation as on *Fraehn's* coin of *Hejaj*; but the date is not accurately given by Marsden, which is much to be



regretted. The first part is clearly *hasht*, eight. The second might be *wist*, twenty, or *shast*, sixty, which would bring it near to the date of the coin of *Besker*, and would accord well enough with the year of the Hijra. As long as the date is doubtful, we cannot attempt to determine who this Omar the son of Ubid-Allah should be; but in the year Hijra 68, that is, in the first year of the government of Abd-ul-Malik, we find named by Ibn Koteiba (in Reiske's Extract, p. 280), under the article Abada ben Al-Hosein, an Omar ben Ubid-Allah ben Mâmar ben Ali ben Tamim

عمر بن عبید الله بن معمر بن علی بن تمیم

and in the extract by Reiske from Ibn Durid's *Kitab-al-ashkâk* (in the Royal Library, Copenhagen), p. 148, we have an Omar ben Ubid-Allah ben Mâmar mentioned, with the addition that he fell in battle with the Khwarij.


M. De Longpérier has had engraved either the same coin or one exactly like it, plate xii. fig. 2. In the engraving, either through the inexactitude of the artist or a defect in the original, the letter *r* (that is, *l*) has been omitted in the patronymic; nevertheless we cannot be wrong in considering it as a coin of Ibn Ubid.

2. 3. We have two casts of a coin in the Royal Cabinet, which are exactly alike. One (No. 7261) is from a coin in the British Museum, with no other notice than "Additions." The other is from a coin in the cabinet of the India House and was brought from Kabul. It has been engraved in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. fig. 2. As I entertained some doubts with respect to the accuracy of the delineation, a cast was at my request most kindly sent to me from London. These two coins have on the margin of the obverse, in Kufic letters, the *Bismillah*; also the word *Afzud* in the usual situation, and the same name in two

lines before the bust. Wilson's coin has also, immediately above on the margin, a countersign, in which I think I can read the name *Mohammed* in Kufic, but reversed from the original stamp. On the reverse the coins exhibit the same date and the same name on the right. The die, however, was not the same, as appears clearly from the name on the reverse. In general, the coin of the Museum is better executed. The reading of the name and date is not without difficulty. That in front of the bust is written on Wilson's coin in two lines. In the upper line the first letter is clearly the aspirated vowel or *a*, then follows a groupe in which an *m* is certainly comprised; but it is preceded by a letter of very doubtful appearance, and which may be *d*, *g*, *j*, or *r*; at the end of the line is *i*, as in the case of Omar-i-Ubid-Allah, connecting the first with the second line, which contains the patronymic. In the second line there, I find, first, a *z*, then a *y* repeated, then *at-an*, or together *Ziyat-an*, equivalent to *Ziyád-an*, or *ben Ziyád*. In the cast (No. 7261), the more distinct series of the first line has apparently an *r* connected with the *m*, but in the second row the two *y*'s are not to be distinguished. We cannot, however, doubt that we have here also the patronymic *Ziyád-an*.

On the reverse, Wilson's coin exhibits the numeral in Pehlevi letters. The other has the same, but the final is unmistakeably *t*. These numerals differ somewhat from those hitherto explained, and have a ruder and more antiquated character. I think, however, they may be thus analysed:—First, we have two conjoint strokes forming an *s*, then a curved stroke turning to the left, and with the two following making *sh*; then again, we have *s* and finally *t*, or together, *seh-shast*, sixty-three. It is possible that the number three, *sch*, has been expressed by one letter, for



I see no other possible reading, and I infer, therefore, that in combination with a following decimal, the consonant now added to the initial in modern Persian might formerly be dispensed with. On the Museum coin on the right we may clearly read a name in Pehlevi, which I understand Merwan . Wilson's coin, also, has no other name, although the *wn* are somewhat indistinct, and the *r* is differently formed with a curve to the left. We might, however, perhaps read in both, instead of the Arabic Merwan, that of a Persian city, Mero, and as the term occurs in the same situation as Tapúristan, this were more appropriate; only I see no reason for doubting the final *w*, and therefore prefer to read it an *n*, making *Merwan*. The combination of the patronymic *Ziyád-an* with the date 63, allows us to hope for some little light to be thrown on the principal name on the obverse. If, as conjectured, the date be Hijra 63, then would Ziyad, whose son appears here to have been governor of some Persian province, be no other than the famous Ziyad ben Abihi the brother of the Khalif Moawia, among whose numerous sons, Amr or Amru is the only one that can be suggested. None of the others, whose names are all enumerated by Ibn Koteiba, would in any wise suit the Pehlevi legend. I am disposed therefore to read upon the obverse *Amr-i Ziyad-an*; but I do not wish to conceal that the letters *mr* as they stand on the coin would rather be *rm*. No name, however, is known to me, either Arabic or Persian, which could be rendered from these letters in any other way except Amr, and although we do not for a certainty know that Amr ben Ziyad ever held the government of Persia, yet the fact is not improbable. In proposing to place the coin in the time of the first Yezid, without having more positive indications, I must expect to encounter the

strong prejudices of Numismatists; yet not only does the whole style of the coins seem to characterise them as the predecessors of the coins of Hijaj, but I am confirmed in the accuracy of my conclusion by another coin, which I shall proceed to describe.

4. The coin in question has been engraved by Wilson (Ariana, pl. xvii. fig. 3), but I repeat the representation from a sulphur cast supplied to me from London at my request, as the Pehlevi letters are there more correctly given. This coin also comes from Kabul, and the original, I believe, is in the India House. On the margin of the obverse occurs the *Bism-illah*; behind the head the customary *Afzud*. Before the bust, on the upper row, we have quite distinctly Ubid-Allah, which occurred before as the patronymic. In the second row, next to a representation of the Sun, is a mark which cannot be regarded as a letter, but apparently represents the moon. Then follows the *i*, which is to be attached to Ubid-Allah, but for which there is no room in the upper row. Then comes the patronymic, which we read on the last coin, Ziyadán, if I decypher it correctly, having a small mark for the *i*, and a larger for the Arabic *y*. The latter is connected with the following *a*. This coin then is almost without any doubt the coin of the celebrated Ubid-Allah ben Ziyad, who was first governor of Khorasan under the Kalif Moawiya, and afterwards succeeded his father in Irak, according to Ibn Koteiba, p. 377. He continued governor till the death of Yezid, in Hijra 64, and was killed in the reign of Abd-ul-Malek, Hijra 67, without leaving a successor. He plays a prominent part in the history of Arabian coinage, for Makrizi relates (as quoted by De Sacy) that he was the first who issued counterfeit Dirhems, when he fled from Basra; Hijra, 64. Beladheri mentions him also, in a remarkable



passage cited by Fraehn, Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. p. 345:—  
 “David the Assayer said, I have met with a Dirhem, the like of which I had never before seen, with this inscription, *Ubid Allah ben Ziyad*; but it was looked upon as counterfeit.”  
 The Dirhem before us is no counterfeit, nor is it one of the light Dirhems struck by Ubid-Allah, in the year 64; for it is older. On the reverse, on the left, we have the number clearly *shast*, sixty, which can apply to the Mohammedan era only. The coin belongs therefore to the first year of the reign of Yezid, or the last of that of Moawiya, and with the oldest copper coins described by M. de Saulcy (Journ. Asiatique, 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tom. viii. p. 477), must be the oldest known coin of the time of the Khalifs. I am not, I am sorry to say, confident as to the legend on the right of the obverse. The first mark appears to be an apostrophe, the like of which has not been observed on any other coin. I imagine it to be intended for *k*, to which it bears the greatest similitude, and which has not occurred before. Next come a groupe which I read *rm*; and they are followed by *an*, making together *kerman*: but we have still two characters, the reading of which is doubtful; the first looks like an *a*, combined with *p*, or *f*, or *ch*, or *z*; the second a detached *i*. They may express some inflexion of the word *Kerman*, or may be merely mint-marks, for which no better situation could be found.

With these coins of the years of the Hijra, 60, 63, 68, the coin published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July, 1834, pl. 21, fig. 8, and in the Journ. Asiatique, 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tom. vii. pl. 17, No. 1, should probably be classed. The engravings unfortunately, do not suffice for the decyphering of the inscriptions. On the margin of the obverse is clearly enough the Arabic word *Bism*, but reversed. In the usual place, there appears to be the word *Afzud*.

There are two lines before the head, which, no doubt, contain the name and patronymic ; but they are illegible. The date on the reverse is still more undecypherable ; but, I think, I can distinguish *Merwan* or *Merv* on the right.

To these also, to a certain extent, belongs a coin also brought from Kabul, and engraved by Wilson (pl. xvii. 4), of which I have also a cast before me. It has several peculiarities, and belongs to a different province from any of the other coins. I can make out but little of the Pehlevi upon it ; but it certainly belongs to the same period, and is of similar origin. Besides the general style, we have the Kufic inscription *Bismillah*, the letters of which strongly resemble those of the coins last described, and which decidedly denotes a Mohammedan origin. The word *Afzud* appears in the usual place with the known mint-marks ; but both marks are repeated on the same face of the coin to the left on the edge below, where they are plainer in the engraving than the cast. The name before the head is in two lines ; but, as it appears to me, in characters wholly unknown. It may be the name of an Arab governor. The reverse has on the margin a legend also in unknown characters, which seem to me to differ from those of the obverse. On both sides of the fire altar, we have, I think, Pehlevi inscriptions. On the left, I think, I can make out *h* (or *a*), *w* (*u*) or *n*, *b*, *â* ; but I can make no word of them. The longer term on the right is quite unintelligible, and appears to be more ancient than any yet met with.

### CHAP. III.—INDO-PERSIAN COINS OF EASTERN IRAN.

THE last-mentioned coin with the unknown characters on either face belongs probably to Eastern Iran ; and the



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 Sri Vasu Deva

As it appears in the engraving, it might possibly be *apur senet*, with, somewhat behind it, a date; but on the cast *rán* is not less distinct than *apu*. Round the margin runs a legend beginning from the left of the crown (the right of the beholder), to the right, divided into four segments by the insertion of the usual stars. The first begins with the Pehlevi letter *p*, and a repeated letter *w* or *n*. Then follows a very unintelligible groupe which, according to the cast, may be *amu*, then a detached *i*, and finally *shán*. The second part begins clearly with *apur*, but the *r* is connected with a following letter, which I consider to be *b*. What ensues is very obscure. *Sht* seems to be in contact with a long horizontal line above the *b*. Lastly, the group *ap* (*ach* or *az*), and an *n* or *w* follow. The third portion on the left begins clearly with the name *Bahman*, written *whmán*. After which comes an *a* with a tail exactly as on the coin of Ubaid Allah in the word I proposed to read *Kerman*. Then follows a word which, in the engraving, must be read *mitán*; but which, in the cast, appears to be *mrtán*. The three last letters which are quite distinct on the plate are very indistinct in the cast. The last segment to the left contains perhaps merely a mint-mark; but which, in part at least, is composed of Pehlevi letters beginning with *m* and *r*, which are followed by *k*, and the word ends with *a*. On the reverse is a female head with face to the front, and with appropriate decorations. On the left is the Devanagari inscription 'Vasudeva'; on the right, a Pehlevi legend. In one place the countermark on the other face shews through the coin, and obliterates the marks on the cast, although in the engraving the letters are quite clear. On the other hand, the preceding and following part of the legend are distinct on the cast, but not in the engraving. In the former, the first three letters



are certainly *pnch*, which, if it were a numeral, we should render 'five'; but, if the name of a place, it might be intended for part of Panchir (*Panjshir*). In the engraving we then have an *h* (or *a*) and an *i*, then *z*, and *a* with *n* or *w*. Of all these only the last appears on the cast with a slight trace of a preceding letter, which might perhaps be *a*, perhaps *sh*. At the end the cast shews the syllable *rat*. I cannot offer any explanation of the inscription on the margin. Below, to the right, is also a Pehlevi legend; but it is by no means distinct. As far as I can make it out, we have the letter *s* (perhaps *a*), *p*, *r* (?), *y* (or *d*), *m*, *á*, *n*, *sh*, *á*, *n*. I regret extremely that I cannot offer any more satisfactory explanation of this interesting coin. From the style of the writing, I cannot think it older than the coins of Tapúristan: it is probably rather more modern.

I can make out something more of another remarkable coin, which is connected with the last-mentioned, also published by Wilson, from the Masson Collection (pl. xxi. fig. 22), a cast of which has also been sent to me, but of which Mr. Wilson's is the only true representation. The obverse has a totally different appearance from that of the preceding, exhibiting a half-profile of a man's head, with an extraordinary tiara without wings turned to the right. In front are some unknown characters similar to those on Wilson's coins (pl. xvii. 4 and 8). In the margin is a Devanagari inscription read by Mr. Prinsep—*Sri Hitivira airana cha parameswara sri vahitigan deva janita*; but which Mr. Wilson reads: *Sri Hinivira Rajádhiraja* (?) *parameswara* (?) *sri cha Hinivira deva janita*. On the reverse is the head of a young female, full face, with ornaments resembling those on the preceding coin. To the left, in Pehlevi letters, clearly but not correctly engraved, is, *haft haftad* هفت هفتاد seventy-seven, with the final stroke

at the end of one of the two words which may represent the copulative as if it were *Haft-u-haftád*. The imperfect acquaintance of the die-cutters with the Pehlevi letters is manifested in the figure of the final *t*, which, joined to the second stroke of the preceding *a*, acquires the appearance of a *p*, with *n* or *w* following. On the other hand, the inscription on the right is on the whole very well cut, only that the beginning is indistinct, which is much to be regretted. The first letter is *t*, the second probably *v* or *u*, then comes a character I cannot decypher. Further on, the *w* or *n* recurs, I make no doubt; and, finally, we have entirely distinct and beautifully *Khurasan Merwá*. According to this, the origin of this coin with Pehlevi and Devanagari inscriptions appears to me to be Merv in Khorasan, although the form *Merwa* is unusual. The illegible word at the beginning of this last phrase may be meant for 'coin,' as if it were 'coin of Khorasan stamped at Merv;' or, perhaps, the term for "capital" may be intended—the capital of Khorasan, Merv. According to what era the date is to be reckoned, I cannot venture to say; it is very unlikely to be the Mohammedan. In that case, the *Bism-illah* would scarcely have been omitted, and the style of the writing indicates on this, as on the former coin, a more modern date: not that this circumstance contributes to approach a solution of the historical problem which these coins present.

The same coin, or one exactly like it, is found in the Journ. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, July, 1843, pl. xxi. 10. I have only seen a drawing from the engraving, and am not quite convinced of its identity. No. 11 of the same plate is also like this. These are, probably, the two coins which we have in the Journ. Asiatique, 3<sup>me</sup> serie, tom. vii. pl. 17, 3, 4. In these the male head of fig. 3, and female of fig. 4, best accord with our coin.



## CHAP. IV.—COINS OF THE LAST SASSANIAN KINGS.

THE Pehlevi characters upon the coins hitherto explained have undergone an evident calligraphic improvement. Upon the Indo-Persian coins, even more than those of the Tapúrستان, the letters equal in elegance the writing of the best manuscripts, while on those of the Arab governors of Persia, the former is clearly more ancient, although essentially the same. But we find on the coins, which have been accurately designated as the last Sassanian, an older and ruder alphabet, a transition Alphabet, which appears to be the connecting link between that of the older Sassanian coins decyphered by De Sacy, and that of the coins which we have investigated. I have been able to read the greater part of the inscriptions on such of these later coins as I have had access to; and although the result is not very productive of new dates, yet it is not without interest to the historian and numismatist. All the coins of this class, of which I have seen either the originals or the casts, differ much from those of more recent date, both as to execution and preservation, and agree best, as to external appearance, with those of the Arab governors or the Ispébeds of Tapúrستان. The obverse presents regularly the word *Afzud* behind the head, and in front of it the name of the issuer. On the reverse we have to the left a date; on the right, apparently mint-marks. I will enumerate the names and dates which are known to me.

The greater number of the coins which I have seen bear the name Khosrub, using the old Pehlevi form of the name Khosru, as indicated by the final mark, which may be taken for a *b*, although that letter is differently formed in modern Pehlevi. If we adhere to the latter, we must read it Khosrewi

خسروی, as Sir Wm. Ouseley has done in his observations on some medals and gems bearing inscriptions in the Pehlevi and ancient Persian characters (Lond. 1801, sect. vi). He was the only one until that time who succeeded in decyphering a word in the Pehlevi character. I am sorry to say I have not access to his work, and only know the reading of the word through later writers. According to his reading, we should have, not the simple name of the king, but an adjective derived from it, which does not seem likely: however, he may be correct. There is no doubt with respect to the person. The coin is a coin of Khosru; of whom there are also in the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen nine; in the British Museum thirty-two, of which we have casts in the Royal Cabinet; ten of them have no other particulars than 'Khosru' (Ouseley, sect. vi). Eight are from the collection of Payne Knight; one has the signature, Taylor Combe, and one Edwd. Hawkins; one is marked "additions," and one "from Rich;" altogether forty-one with the same name. It remains, however, to be determined, whether they all belong to the same king, or to what king, or to what queen. I shall offer a few observations on this subject after reading the dates on the reverse.

On one portion of the coins of Khosru, we meet with the same Persian numerals which we have found on the other coins, only that they are of lower value. I distinguish with confidence upon the coins of the Royal Cabinet, the numbers 23, 24, 35 (on three coins), 37; on one, I am not quite sure whether we have 25 or 35: on the London casts I find the numbers 23 (No. 7198), 24 (7287), 25 (7290), and if I am not mistaken, also on two others, (7247, 7254) 27, (7286) 30, (7195, 7197) 35, (7194, and most probably 7293) 36, (7193, 7203) 38, (7200, 7246, 7248,



and probably 7284). Of these forty-one coins, there are three and twenty with legible Persian dates, falling within the range of twenty and thirty; they appear also in some of the casts legible only in part; but there come within the same limits at least twenty-eight out of thirty-two with legible dates. I may add, that of the coins specified by M. de Longpérier, No. 60, apparently a Khosru-Naushirwan; and Nos. 64, 65, probably of Khosru-Parviz, have legible numbers of the same kind. No. 60, Pl. x. Fig. 4, which is peculiar, having on the obverse the head with full face, and no fire altar on the reverse but a full-length male figure holding a sword reversed, has the date 34. No. 64, Pl. xi. Fig. 3 has 37 or 38. This is also a remarkable coin, and may be regarded as the model of the Indo-Persian coin, with the female head on the reverse. The name has some addition; but the inscription is indistinctly engraved. No. 65 has undoubtedly 24. These are no doubt the numbers of years, but whether they refer to those of an era, or of the king's reign, cannot at present be determined. It may also be questioned whether they refer to Khosru-Naushirwan, or to Khosru-Parviz, the first of whom reigned 48 years, the second 38; the highest number met with is thirty-eight.

Upon the reverse of these coins appears, as already remarked, what seems to be the mint-mark; one of which frequently occurring, is very like the Kufic form of 'Allah'. I find it on the Copenhagen coin with the number 23, and upon the London coins, Nos. 7198, 7286, 7246, and 7248; but it can scarcely be thought likely that it is the Arabic term. On three London coins, I find, in place of this mint-mark, distinctly the Pehlevi word for year (viz. Nos. 7290, 7197, and 7283). I found the same on the coin of Al Hijaj of the Hijra year 78; and then I called the word after the Arabic 'Senet.' There may be ground for a different pro-

nunciation; for on a few of the Khosru coins we see, not without surprise, the Aramaic instead of the Persian numerals. These are especially used for the units: thus Nos. 7252, 7253, have *tolta*, in Pehlevi, the Syriac *three*; Nos. 7202, 7249, *arba* four; 7294 has *shabho* seven; 7251, *tasho* nine. We might expect to find the word for *year* also pure Aramaic, or *shinah*, not *sanat*; but I think we may as well restrict the pronunciation to the Aramaic, only as regards the vowel, reading *s'nat*.

Lastly, upon three of the coins of Khosru, the numeral is quite illegible; and I cannot say whether it be Persic or Aramaic. Such is the case on one of the Copenhagen coins and the London casts 7250 and 7292. For the rest, these Khosru coins have some peculiarities of writing and orthography differing from later usage; thus the letter *r*, substituted for the *l*, usually takes the more ancient form noticed by Müller resembling the *o* of the Zend MSS. *Sh* has the form used on the coins of Amr ben Ziyad, but is more ancient, and has the first line quite horizontal. The *h* appears in an older form, and differs somewhat from *a*, as in the numerals *chahar* four and *haft* seven. The final stroke after the numeral *wist* occurs where it is omitted by the coins of Tapúristan. The orthography of the number thirty (*si*), and three (*seh*) is very remarkable; the reading is quite certain, but I cannot arrive at a satisfactory analysis of the characters. In two of the London coins not yet adverted to (casts 7283, 7291, both from Rich), I observe different characters for the name of the king; I believe, however, we must read it Khosrub. The first has the numeral 23 with the word *senat*; the other, the Aramaic *toltu* three, and a mint-mark resembling the Pehlevi *mr*. Upon two only of the coins of Pehlevi legends do I find any other king's name than that of Khosru; they are the London



casts 7238, 7239 (Payne Knight, p. 204, pl. xvi. 1. 2.), they bear the name Ormuzd, written in a manner which would be expressed in Niskh letters, *Ouharmuzd* اوهرمزد. The two last letters are not quite distinct on either of the coins; but the reading is undoubted. The style of the writing denotes a higher antiquity than that of the Khosru coins; and I am inclined to refer them to Ormuzd, the son of Khosru Nau-shirwan, A. D. 579-590, while the Khosru coins mostly belong to Khosru Parviz. The reverse of the Ormuzd coins has the Aramaic numeral *treen* two, and *tasho* nine, which I look upon as the years of the king's reign. According to Longpérier the coin 62 (pl. xi. 1.) has the same name, Ormuzd, and the Aramaic numeral three. I find also in his work, two apparently older coins, in which the Pehlevi writing shews itself in its transition state—on No. 64, with the name *Wahrahran* (pl. xi. 2.), and on 68 with *Arteshetr* (pl. xii. 1), the reverse of which has the Aramaic number for two; the same number occurs apparently on the coin No. 55 (pl. ix. fig. 4).

A coin in the Royal Cabinet, on which the name is undecypherable, has also on the reverse the Aramaic number *three*, impressed in Pehlevi letters, in a more correct manner than in any of the before mentioned coins with the same. Finally, I must advert to a London coin (Copenhagen, cast 7201, without any further specification), which seems to be without any name. On the obverse in the usual situation of the name of the king, we read *senat* year; and before it, if I do not mistake, the Persian word *hasht*, eight, while on the reverse is the Aramaic number, *treen* two. It is the only coin known to me on which we have both Persic and Aramaic numbers; and that the computation starts from a different point is evident, not only from the difference of the two numbers, but the circumstance that the Arabic

numerals are limited to the first ten, while the numbers of the coins of Khosru belong mostly to twenty and thirty: the coin in question is the only one with a lower notation. The time will soon come, I trust, when it will be decided whether, as I conjecture, the Aramaic number relates to the year of the king's reign, and the Persic to a particular era, and at what period that era commences. The appearance of the Aramaic numbers is an unexpected occurrence; but it is not difficult of explanation, as the predominating population even of Khosru's capital was Syrian. The different mode of reckoning may also be explained by national usages. The numbering of the years of the king's reign is an old Semitic practice, which was not likely to be relinquished although the astronomers made use of a determinate era.

I have now to terminate my remarks on the Pehlevi legends. It is no merit of my own to have had the satisfaction of opening a fresh soil yielding a rich harvest to the original cultivator; but no one I am sure will begrudge me the pleasure I derive from having brought to light a series of interesting and, in some respects, important facts. My most cherished hope arises, however, from the prospect of what further may be accomplished by the continued prosecution in other directions of these investigations. The rich treasures of Russia and England afford ample materials for the labours of the learned Numismatist; and I would venture to recommend, especially to Herr Von Fraehn and Mr. Wilson, to follow out what I have begun. In the mean time, if any amateurs of Numismatic science are possessed of coins of this class which they do not purpose to illustrate themselves, and will send me accurate copies of them, they will be thankfully accepted.

One subject to which I cannot here propose to do more than allude, is the relative condition of the Pehlevi language,



which has been kept in the back-ground in our researches, but which has been invested with a renovated interest by the labours of Quatremère and Müller: the last I trust will not delay to institute a comparison between the language as it appears on our coins reaching upwards to the sixth century, with the modern Persian forms of the Pehlevi of Firdusi.

### FIRST SUPPLEMENT.

Having had an opportunity on a journey from Copenhagen to Leipsic, of inspecting the Pehlevi coins in the Royal Cabinet of Berlin, I have the following brief notice to offer concerning them.

1. Of the coins of Tapuristan there are five; the first has the name Omar (ben al Ala), in Kufic characters in the usual place, and the name Harun in Pehlevi letters on the margin of the obverse, like the above mentioned coin of 220, while that with the number 124, has both names in Pehlevi. This is remarkable, as the Berlin coin is the older, having the date 123 equal to Hijra 160, A.D. 776-7, which has not yet occurred. The second coin is one of Said of the year 125, which has nothing peculiar. The third is an Omar of 128, the *sh* of '*hasht*' of the numeration is plain enough, but peculiarly formed, something like that in the Copenhagen coin of the same year. It comes from the collection of General Buhle von Lilienstern. So does the fourth, an Omar of 129, without anything peculiar; and the fifth which is remarkable: on the obverse is the word *afzud*, not in the usual place, but in that generally occupied by the name, which is entirely omitted. The mint marks on the margin differ from those usually present: on the reverse we have the number 136, and the name of the region distinct.

The coin falls in the period of the government of Jerir but without having his name.

We have moreover a fragment of a coin which indisputably belongs to the same class. It is a coin of Ferkhan like that of Longpérier (pl. xii. fig. 4), the legend very beautifully cut. We have here a corroboration of Anquetil's character *kh*, whence comes the possibility of the occurrence of an ordinary *k*, with a following *w*. On the reverse is the number which is to all appearance something more than 100 and is probably 107 or 108; or it may be within the range of 120, or even higher. The first part of the number is broken off; and we can only perceive, that 100 is preceded by a *t*; as the finding of so high a number seems to be inconsistent with the conclusions above drawn, I would give to the coins of Ferkhan even a lower date than those of Khurshid. I must call to recollection that approximated to the common era of Yezdegird current in Tapuristan, we have had occasion to notice another era beginning at a somewhat later period; and it is to this the coin of Ferkhan may belong; and this being reduced to the common era, would present a lower date than the coins of Khurshid.

Of the coins of the Arab Governors of Persia, I found but fragments — five in number. Three of them I made out with no little surprise to be coins of Omar ben Ubaid Allah, of Amr ben Ziyad, and of Ubaid Allah ben Ziyad. On the first are the first three characters in Pehlevi, of the name Omar, the first four of the patronymic, and the beginning of the fifth. The reverse exhibits شست *Shast*, singly with exception of the first stroke of the *sh*, which is broken off. The coin is probably like that of Marsden of the Hijra year 68. On the second coin, of which not more than a fourth remains, the name Amr is quite perfect, but has not the following *i*; the form of the patronymic Ziyad (*an*)



corresponds best with that on the coin in the British Museum (cast, Copenhagen 7261). The number is 63; but the three is more distinct, and apparently correct, than on both the London coins. On the third coin is only the last letter of the name Ubid Allah, with the tail of the *b*, and the ending of the patronymic (*zi*) *yadan*.

The two other fragments belong to coins which I have not before met with, and they give us great reason to regard their mutilation. One, of which about one third is entire, presents on the margin of the obverse the Kufic *Bismillah*. Of the principal name, we have only the two last letters, *an*. Only an *m* remains of that which preceded. The name may have been Othman عثمان. Of the patronymic in the second line, the end remains *mtan*; the reverse shews plainly the number *haftad*, seventy; the *h* is partly defective in like manner as on the Copenhagen coin of the year 137. The coin belongs to a period between Omar ben Ubid Allah, and Al Hejaj; and we may expect soon to ascertain who the governor was by whom the coin was struck. The last fragment, about a quarter of the coin, has upon the margin of the obverse in Kufic, *L'Illahi al hamdo* "Praise be to God." Of the principal name we have only the connecting *i* of the patronymic, and the last five letters which may be rendered *zedwán*, زدان or *zinan*, زینان from the different powers of the Pehlevi letters. Beyond them we may make out an *i*, or the remains of an *a*, but the rest is destroyed. I may remark, that the *z* is of an unusual form, and might, in a case of necessity, be rendered *r*. No writing is left on the reverse; and the absence of a date, with the uncertainty of the reading of the patronymic, makes it impossible to conjecture by whom the coin was issued; there can be no doubt, however, that the name was Arabic.

3. Of the later Sassanians I found the following six coins with the name of Ormuzd written in the same manner as on the casts of the London coins, but in part with a more distinct ending. Five have Aramaic numerals, two have *three*, one *six*, and two *ten*. One of those with *ten*, is from the Knobelsdorf collection; one with *three*, from that of General Kühle; on the reverse of the last may be read in Pehlevi characters, on the right, a word which in Arabic would be rendered Iran ایران. The sixth coin has no Aramaic number; but in its place, as I imagine, merely mint marks, besides these there is a half coin which as far as can be decyphered, presents the name *Ormuzd*. On the reverse is a mint mark something in the form of *Allah*; the number is broken off.

There are, moreover, eleven coins with the name of Khosru: of the Persian numbers, we have 23, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 37, on single coins. Two appear to me to have 47. One has the Aramaic *nine*, with the mint mark *Allah*. Besides these there is a half coin with the Persian number 30; and, amongst other fragments, one with the Persian number 7. A coin with the Aramaic number 7 belongs also, I think, to Khosru; but I am not sure.

Two coins, as it appears to me, are without any name. In the situation which it usually occupies we have two Pehlevi words which I should transcribe *Rust Afzu* روست افزو. *Afzu* seems to be a mutilation of the common *Afzud*; *Rust* has no very obvious meaning: one of them has the number 30, the other 33. Finally, we have another coin with the peculiarity that the word *Afzud* is not in its usual situation with its upper edge near the upper border of the coin, but close to the lower. In place also of the name, appears a word which is indistinct. It may perhaps be intended for *Irani*, but I am not certain; the date is not



altogether legible, but it is clearly in Persian, and belongs to the *thirties*.

Two coins with the same enigmatical words on the obverse, have been communicated to me by Dr. Julius Friedlander of Westen, from the cabinet of Captain Von Bauch. The date of one comes evidently within the *thirties*, and is apparently 33; on the second, it is illegible. Two later Sassanian coins have been made known to me by the same gentleman from the collection of Dr. Kühne. One is a coin of Ormuzd with the Aramaic number *nine*, the other of Khosru with the date indistinct. A coin of Khosru with the Persian numeral 35, has been kindly shown to me in a private cabinet at Leipsic.

## SECOND SUPPLEMENT.

Through the kind assistance of Professor Kosegarten of Greifswald, I have been made acquainted with the following eighteen coins with Persian inscriptions, from the cabinet of the late Councillor Pogge.

1. Coins of Tapuristan. A beautiful coin of Omar, of 120, with a pure Pehlevi legend; and one of Said of 126, which must be the same as that of Copenhagen, cast 7257.

2. Coins of Arab-Governors of Persia. A coin of Amr ben Ziyad. The name is rather imperfect, but is not doubtful. It is much the same as the Copenhagen cast 7261; but differs in the date, which is 64 instead of 63. The number 'four' as transcribed, would be read *Chahar* چاهار with the second vowel short. A coin of Omar ben Ubaid Allah, the characters are not all perfect; but the reading of the whole is indisputable. On the margin of the obverse, we have *Lillah al Hamdo*, as in Marsden's coin

DXL; but on the obverse is not the year 68, but either 61 or 69. For the first part of the number may be read *nachu*, which I have proposed to render 'one' in the Copenhagen coin of Mukatil. I confess, however, that this coin suggests great doubt of the accuracy of that reading and interpretation; for 69 would better accord than 61 with the date 68 of Marsden's coin; on the obverse, the coin does not exhibit the word *snt* (*senet*), but simply *st* very clearly with a dot following. This might be read *sat*, a hundred; and may refer to a peculiar era, the commencement of which might be placed A.D. 581, or A.D. 588—9. It is probably, however, an abbreviation of the Arabic word *senet* year.

3. Later Sassanian. Thirteen in number: nine have the name of Khosru: one of them (No. 3), has on the obverse the Persian number *five*, followed by a mint-mark. Five others have also the Persian numbers 25, 27, 36 (on two), and 37. An eighth has a Persian number, of which the *twenty* is clear, the other term is indistinct. This coin has the word *Allah*. On one (No. 13), we have the Aramaic numeral for *nine*.

In addition to these nine coins, I find one which apparently presents the name of Ormuzd: but the three last characters are peculiarly connected. It has the Aramaic number *nine*, the mint-mark *Allah*. On the other three coins, the name is entirely effaced. Two have the Aramaic numerals, *three* and *seven*.

One coin (No. 18) appears, as far as may be judged from what remains of the legend, to be a coin of the earlier Sassanian kings. It bears countermarks with characters, with which I am unacquainted.



## XII.

ON CERTAIN GAULISH COINS WITH THE TYPE  
OF THE CHARIOTEER.

ON several occasions we have remarked, that the ancient Gaulish coins may be readily distinguished by certain characteristics from those which it is now no longer denied were minted by the ancient Britons. We have observed, for instance, that in the latter series, the best executed examples are, in many particulars, palpable copies of well-known Greek and Roman models; and that among these, the horse, though a constantly recurring type, never has a human head; and that, in fact, there is scarcely anything in the types of ancient British coins which, with our present knowledge, appears to reflect a ray of light on the habits or manners of our rude forefathers.<sup>1</sup>

It is not so with the coins of the Gaulish series. Without citing other examples, affording illustrations of an adopted,

---

<sup>1</sup> Is not this fact strong evidence in support of the opinion maintained by the writer, that our ancient British coins date from a period posterior to the invasion of Cæsar? We have no types resembling those of the Gaulish coins with the charioteer, of which the well-known Jersey or Channel Island type is an imperfect imitation or corruption. How may this be explained, but by our supposing that the British coins were struck by our ancestors at the time the Romans held their hostages and exacted a tribute from them. On the contrary, these Gaulish coins with the type of the charioteer, appear to have been struck while Gaul was yet unsubdued; and consequently we have types of that series originally derived from the money of a warlike people, but quickly, though by degrees, adapted to the tastes and feelings of the imitators, until the prototype is almost unrecognisable, the laureated head is supplanted by one of a totally different aspect; and the charioteer, urging an androcephalous quadruped, bears aloft the spoils of the slain.

though adapted and sometimes perverted type, we have only to direct the reader's attention to the coins figured in the plate illustrating this notice. On Nos. 6, 7, 8, 12, and 13, we find the androcephalous horse, driven by a figure whose sex appears on the various examples of this type either male or female, according to the fancy or the ability of the artist. In some cases, the figure appears to represent the Gaulish Victory; in others, a male warrior, or at least a figure in male attire. This figure sometimes holds an object, as in Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, the signification of which, until very recently, sorely puzzled the shrewdest French numismatists. On some examples, a similar object is held in each hand of the figure. On those of the best execution, and the most closely resembling the prototype, which it will be needless to maintain here are the earliest,—a male figure, grasping a spear, lies prostrate beneath the horse, as if overthrown in combat; and in fig. 12 of our plate, the charioteer holds the same object in one hand, and in the other what it may be clearly perceived, is a torques. The original is in the collection of the British Museum.

The sagacity of the Count Borghesi, an Italian antiquary, has happily led to the discovery of the signification of the latticed object held by the charioteer. The count detected, in a well-known coin of the consular family *Arria*,<sup>2</sup> the same object, accompanied by the *hasta* and *corona aurea*, the reward of a victorious soldier, and at once explained it as the *phaleræ* so often mentioned in ancient inscriptions. It was left, however, to the acuteness of M. Deville, curator of the Museum of Antiquities of Rouen, to identify the object on the coin of the *Arria* family, explained by the Count Borghesi, with that held in the hand of the charioteer on the Gaulish gold coins.

---

<sup>2</sup> See the two varieties, figs. 1 and 2 of our plate.



M. Adrien de Longpérier, in a recent number of the *Revue Numismatique*,<sup>3</sup> has published a very interesting memoir on this subject, in which he admits:—

1. That the object borne by the Gaulish charioteer and that which accompanies the hasta and corona, on the coin of the Arria family, are identical.

2. That these objects are *phaleræ*;—and

3. That the Gaulish charioteer bears one of these *phaleræ*, in token of his vanquishing and despoiling a Roman soldier.

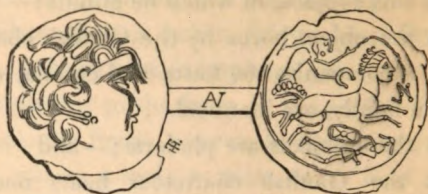
M. de Longpérier, however, shews that M. Deville is in error in giving the name of *phalera* in the singular, and by a number of illustrations, to which the reader is referred, proves that the word should be in the plural, *phaleræ*, these decorations consisting of various objects fastened to a frame-work of leather or some such material.<sup>4</sup> But we must return to the object represented on the Gaulish coins. If any thing were wanting to prove the correctness of this explanation, it might be supplied by the coin engraved in our plate, fig. 12, in which the charioteer holds in one hand the *phaleræ* of a vanquished foe, and in the other a torques. This is shewn in another example preserved in the collection of the British Museum, and illustrating a very interesting article by Mr. Birch on the use of that favourite ornament.<sup>5</sup> The *phaleræ* in the left hand of the figure is very rudely and imperfectly represented on this coin; but there

<sup>3</sup> Tome xiii. p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> M. Deville was doubtless misled, against his better judgment, by our dictionaries of antiquities, which to this hour give us a most incorrect notion of the *phaleræ*. This must ever be the case, when books alone are ransacked and monuments treated with neglect, or used so slovenly as to afford no additional light by their citation.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 368. We are indebted to the Council of the A. I. for the loan of these two cuts.

can be no doubt of the meaning of the artist in the object held in the right hand.



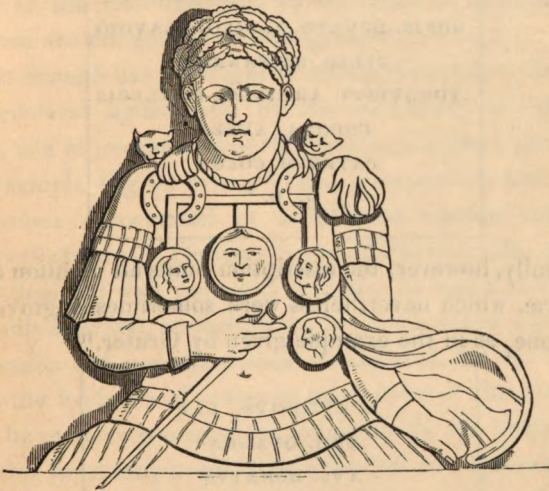
The interesting coins at the head of our plate (figs. 1 and 2), which have afforded the means of interpretation of the Gaulish type, are curious in many respects. They show that, even before the cessation of the issue of family coins, the decorations of the victorious soldier had been increased in number and intrinsic value. Polybius says that in the earliest times it was the practice to give the *hasta* only,—*ἐξ ἀρκῆς δὲ γαῖσον μόνον*. Still, as M. de Longpérier observes, Manlius, at the commencement of the fourth century of Rome, was decorated with the torques, which he had taken from the Gaul whom he had slain in combat;<sup>6</sup> while Tarquin, according to Florus, introduced the *fascēs*, *trabæa*, *phaleræ*, etc.<sup>7</sup> The torques is, however, a simple decoration compared with the *phaleræ*, which were ornamented with barbaric profusion. From what we see in this figure of Marcus Caelius, we may judge of the richness of these ornaments in the last days of Rome, when luxury and

<sup>6</sup> This torque descended as a heir-loom in the family. The individual who wore it in the time of Caligula, was deprived of it by that tyrant.—Sueton. in Calig. c. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Marius, in his oration, mentions the rewards bestowed upon victorious soldiers in his time :—"Non possum, fidei caussa, imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare: at, si res postulet, *hastas*, *vexillum*, *phaleras*, alia militaria dona; præterea cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines," etc., etc.—Bell. Jugurth. c. 85.



effeminacy had become general, and rendered the empire an easy prey to the barbarian. We may imagine the richness of the “*phaleras vario gemmarum fulgore pretiosas*,” of which the Romans had been despoiled, cast into the flames at the funeral of Attila, described by Jornandes.<sup>8</sup>



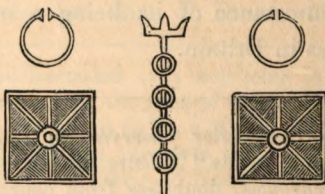
Various inscriptions, recording the donations of *Phalæræ*, are given by Gruter and Muratori; but the following will suffice as an example; and it is particularly interesting to us from the circumstance of its being a memorial of a reward for services in Britain.

<sup>8</sup> C. 49. M. de Longpérier observes on this passage, that M. de Chateaubriand, in his “*Mœurs des Barbares*,” has rendered *phaleras* by *carquois*, doubtless from confounding *phalæræ* with *pharetræ*. It is, however, a much graver offence in a plodding translator. M. Savagner, in his *Traduction de Jornandes* (published at Paris in 1842), has committed precisely the same error.

C. GAVIO. L. F  
 STEL. SILVANO  
 PRIMIPILARI. LEG. VIII. AVG  
 TRIB. COH. II. VIGILVM  
 TRIB. COH. XIII. VRBAN  
 TRIB. COH. XII. PRAETOR  
 DONIS. DONATO. A. DIVO. CLAVDIO  
 BELLO. BRITANNICO  
 TORQVIBVS. ARMILLIS. PHALERIS  
 CORONA. AVREA  
 PATRONO. COLON  
 D. D. <sup>9</sup>

Generally, however, the inscription omits all mention of the phaleræ, which nevertheless were sometimes engraven on the stone, as in the example given by Gruter.<sup>10</sup>

L. ANTONIVS. L. F  
 FAB. QVADRA-  
 TVS. DONATVS  
 TORQVIBVS. E T  
 ARMILLIS. AB  
 TI. CAESARE. BIS  
 LEG. XX



<sup>9</sup> Gruter, Corp. Inscr. p. ccccxvi. No. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. ccclviii. No. 2.



The quadrangular figure beneath each representation of the torques leaves us in no doubt whatever as to its signification; but we may remark, that here, as on the coins of the family Arria, the figure appears to be *conventional*, and not drawn from an actual example, which must have differed according to the fancy of the donor or wearer; even on the two examples of the coins in question, the phaleræ are not similar in arrangement.

But enough has been said to satisfy the reader, that the quadrilateral figure held by the charioteer, on Gaulish coins, is a representation of the Roman phaleræ; and from the example (fig. 4) of our plate, it appears to have been sometimes represented in a different manner and in a less perfect form. On the obverse of this example, we find them depicted with the cords or chains by which they were probably attached, encircling the head, which has a peculiar expression and appears truncated, and with the eye closed. With the evidence of design in other coins of this class, we shall be scarcely censured for indulging in the conjecture, that this head may possibly be intended to represent that of a vanquished enemy, although it is so obvious what has been the prototype. It is, in fact, no greater alteration than the transformation of the horse of the Macedonian Philippi to the androcephalous, and often winged, quadruped on Gaulish coins. This type is engraved by Ruding (Pl. ii. fig. 26), and is the same which honest Speed proposed to give to Lucius, the first Christian British king, he having recognised the symbol of our faith in the ornament before the head. The obverse of a coin in the collection of the British Museum, represented in fig. 8 of our plate, leaves no doubt of the signification of the object on the ruder example exhibited in fig. 4.

With the new light shed on these interesting monuments

by the antiquaries of the continent, we may renew our acquaintance with them in the hope of further discoveries and illustrations. It is clear that the coins with the type of the charioteer were struck by the Gauls as records of national feeling, and of victories achieved in their long and gallant struggle with the invader. It will, therefore, require no great effort of imagination to perceive in the type of fig. 5 of our plate, a record of the capture of a legionary standard; and in figs. 3 and 6, the overthrow of a manipulus; nor will it be necessary to insist, that the subordinate symbol below the horse on fig. 5, has rather the appearance of a copy of an inanimate figure than that of the living animal it is intended to represent.

A word or two in conclusion on the torques. M. de Longpérier quotes the following well-known inscription recording the donation of the *torques major* :—

C. IVLIVS. C. F. STR  
ATOR. AED  
DONATVS. AB. TI. CAES  
AVG. F. AVGVSTO. TORQVE  
MAIORE. BELLO. DELMA  
TICO., etc.

and observes, that here we have neither *torque magno* nor *torque maximo*, but *torque majore*, implying a gradation, from which may be deduced the existence of a *torques minor*. This seems highly probable; and it is possible that this decoration was not always of the full circumference of the neck, but of a diminutive size, like the silver arrows and silver oars awarded in our days to successful toxophilites or rowers. Such a description of honorary torques would be



best adapted for its being added to the phaleræ<sup>11</sup>. Every one knows that the once important military gorget had shrunk into an insignificant bauble long before it was entirely discarded.

M. Lambert has published a reply to M. Deville, in which he considers the object held by the Charioteer to be the *sacred pepulum*, and not the *phaleræ* of the enemy; but a glance at the various coins of which representations are given in our plate, will satisfy our readers that the former interpretation is the true one.

J. Y. A.

---

### XIII.

#### NOTE ON THE GOLD COIN INSCRIBED VERIC. COM. F.<sup>1</sup>

IN our recent notice of the unique and interesting gold coin discovered at Farleigh Heath, near Guildford, we took occasion to recapitulate the evidence in favour of our theory, with regard to the age of the coins inscribed with various names; but to nearly all of which are appended the style COM. or COMI. *Filius*. The discovery of the unique piece inscribed with the name VERIC. affords additional evidence in support of that theory; and on consulting the historians who narrate the events of the period in which they may most reasonably be supposed to have been struck, we find good reason to be satisfied with the

---

<sup>11</sup> There are rings extant which are too small for torques, and of an inconvenient shape for armillæ, which may have been used in this way.

<sup>1</sup> See ante, Art. VII.

appropriation. Dion Cassius tells us, that it was at the instigation of *Vericus*, a fugitive on account of a sedition, that Claudius was induced to send over Aulus Plautius, who finally reduced Britain to a Roman province.<sup>2</sup>

It does not appear that Cantium offered any resistance to the Roman general, who found his chief opponents in the two sons of Cunobeline; first north of the Thames, and afterwards in the interior of the country. From this we may infer that there were powerful supporters of the Roman interest in Cantium, and that the disturbances in that district of Britain soon ceased on the coming of Plautius.

We may, therefore, regard the coin inscribed VERIC. COM. F. as the last of the series of Kentish petty kings, descendants or adopted sons and grandsons of Comius. The uniform appearance of the name of that chief on coins evidently struck at periods distant from each other, and its absence from the money of Cunobeline, are circumstances to be well considered by those who would propose a different interpretation.

J. Y. A.

#### XIV.

#### THE SALE OF THE PEMBROKE COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS.

THE sale of the Pembroke collection of coins and medals has just concluded, and thousands of interesting relics of

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον. Αὔλος Πλαύτιος, Βουλευτῆς λογιμώτατος, ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν ἐστράτευσεν. Βέρικος γάρ τις, ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν, ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν πέμψαι.—Dion Cass. lib. lx. c. 19. Ed. Reimar. Suetonius, in Claudio, c. 17, speaks of a tumult at this time on account of the Romans refusing to deliver up certain fugitives—*ob non redditos transfugas*.



antiquity have been scattered by the hammer of the auctioneer. This curious cabinet, so well known by reputation, though for nearly a century shut out from vulgar eyes in a banker's back parlour, is repeatedly referred to by the acute and discriminating Eckhel, and the plodding and matter of fact Mionnet; but neither of them had ever inspected its contents, and were satisfied to quote from "Pembrock," as the latter pertinaciously writes while citing the volume of plates to which the sale-catalogue now for the first time supplies an ample description.

In noticing the dispersion of a collection which contained so many precious examples of ancient and modern numismatic art, we cannot forbear contrasting the sordid spirit which reigns in this country, despite the peace and security of which she may proudly boast, with that which prevails among our neighbours, though distracted by civil discord. Who can have failed to notice, that while men of rank in France are steadily pursuing and encouraging the pursuit of the healthful study of antiquity—and we need only cite the examples of the Duc de Luynes and the Marquis Lagoy—high personages in our favoured land are scattering to the winds collections which had carried their family names to the furthest corners of the civilised world? Within the last half dozen years the Devonshire cabinet, illustrated by Haym, in his *Tesoro Britannico*, was doomed to the same, if not a worse fate, for the slovenly cataloguing of that collection provoked the censure of all who attended at its dispersion. And what were the amounts realised by the sale of these two famous cabinets, some foreigner will ask? His astonishment will increase, when he learns that as large a sum has been sometimes expended upon a ducal birth-day fête. Verily England is the land in which

Mammon reigns paramount, and where any endeavour to cultivate a taste for art and antiquity is but labour in vain !

But the dispersion of these collections is not the sole evil, which would not be so great if the coins were purchased for private cabinets in this country. In this case the hope might be indulged, that they would at some future day be acquired for our national Museum; but this hope is for ever precluded, when foreigners of taste and judgment send over agents, who buy the choicest lots at liberal prices, some of these lots comprising *coins peculiarly our own*, and having reference to those portions of our early history on which ancient writers are extremely brief, or altogether silent. Some who read these remarks, will ask if this can really be true; and if so, whether the trustees of the British Museum can be aware of the fact? The trustees, we have reason to believe, are not ignorant of what is here asserted, and allege that they have no funds wherewith to increase the national collection of coins and medals. To this cause must be attributed the want for many years, in the Museum cabinets, of a genuine example of that most interesting coin of Brutus, with the two daggers and cap of liberty, although more than half a dozen specimens had been brought to the hammer in this country during the last ten years. To the same cause must be imputed the purchase, by the Duc de Blacas, at the sale of Trattle's collection in 1832, of a unique gold coin of Allectus; and, lastly, the acquisition by French numismatists of many fine coins in the once famous Pembroke collection, which may be looked for in vain in some of the most extensive cabinets in Europe.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

---

**NEW WORK ON NORWEGIAN COINS.**—Professor Holmboe, whose numismatic researches are so well known to our countrymen, announces a work (in which he will be assisted by Herr Schive) on the Coins of Norway, from the earliest period down to the Reformation. The volume will contain 1100 pages, and be illustrated by a profusion of engravings beautifully executed from the originals. The price will not exceed twenty-six shillings. Mr. C. Kruse, 52, Crutched Friars, London, will receive the names of subscribers. We need not insist on the importance of such a work to the student of Anglo-Saxon coins, or remark that their types often suggested those of the Norwegian money previous to the eleventh century.

**W. H. S.**—Our young correspondent, *who does not give his address*, is informed that his brass coin is of Castile.

**J. J.**—There is a very large collection of tradesmen's tokens in the British Museum, amounting to ten or twelve thousand, which of course includes the *provincial* pieces struck during the 17th century. The work on *Tradesmen's Tokens struck in London and its Vicinity* is now in the press. It will contain plates of the most remarkable pieces. A limited number will be printed.

**L.**—Write always to the auctioneers, who will forward you catalogues, or through your own bookseller. Your copy was doubtless applied for by the bookseller you mention, *who had it priced and sold it*.

**TYRO.**—Mr. Charles Roach Smith was the first to notice similar coins. Several examples are engraved in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, a work still in the course of publication, in which TYRO will find many valuable *facts* relating to the antiquities of the Celtic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods.

**Q.**—Messrs. Sotheby have announced their intention to print a quarto edition of the Pembroke Sale Catalogue, with an Index and list of prices obtained. The *plates*, published in 1745, were without letter-press, and of wretched execution.

J. W.—General Ainslie's work on Anglo-Gallic coins is an elegant but very imperfect book. The author questions the existence of coins described by Snelling, but the originals are well known both in France and in England. (See Numismatic Manual, p. 386, and pp. 385 and 375).

O. W.—The rude minute pieces in brass are common. It is doubtful whether they were the produce of illicit mints, or issued by authority. They are probably as late as the days of Arcadius and Honorius, and may be still more recent. The small brass of Claudius-Gothicus, Gallienus, and Postumus, are extremely common. We never heard of the finding of coins of Cunobeline in Kent, nor should we expect to hear of such a discovery.

Σ.—The series of medals executed by Dassier are of very creditable workmanship for the time, but the portraits and devices are ridiculously uncharacteristic. They may be obtained at very moderate prices.

M.—We *have* seen the pattern for the coin to be called a "floren" (why, it would puzzle the deviser to say), and we think the whole design an outrage on good taste. The engraver, if left to himself, would doubtless have produced something creditable; but this is a numismatic caricature! We sincerely trust its parent may become ashamed of it, and that, like the crown, it may be "called in."



45



COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.



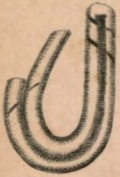
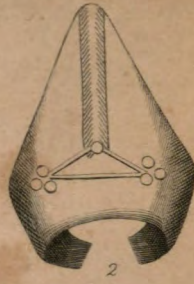


COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

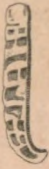








3. a.



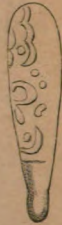
3. b.



4. a.



4. b.



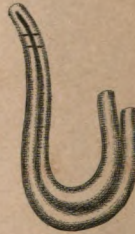
4. c.



5. a.



5. b.



6. a.



6. b.



7



## XV.

ON THE AFRICAN GOLD RING CURRENCY OF THE  
JOLAF TRIBE AND THE SILVER FISH-HOOK  
MONEY OF CEYLON.

SIR,—I forward to you, for the inspection of the members of the Numismatic Society, at their next meeting, a variety of the pointed, penannular, twisted-gold ring currency of the natives of the south-west of Africa, used by the Jolaf tribe peculiarly; and with it a singular gold plate ring, supposed from the Foulah tribe, or some tribe further in the interior of Africa, not used for currency, but as a finger-ring.

I send also, by the obliging permission of Mr. Albert Way, an engraving of the ring of King Ethelwulf now in the British Museum, for the purpose of comparison as to general form, with the Foulah-tribe ring above named.

With these will come drawings of the silver currency of Ceylon, from the cabinets of Walter Hawkins, Esq., and Dr. Lee, who have kindly allowed their specimens to be copied for the purpose. This Cingalese coinage is believed by Mr. Akerman, in his recent work, called "An Introduction to the Study of Ancient and Modern Coins," to be the money spoken of by old writers, as being in "shape like a fish-hook."

The Rev. Nathaniel Denton, of Regent, near Sierra-Leone, a clergyman attached to the Church Missionary Society, who kindly procured for me the African rings submitted, says, in answer to certain inquiries which I made of him, "The Jolafs always make their rings of that shape, and especially with a view to currency, occasionally

VOL. XI.

Y

as need may require among themselves, but more particularly for barter with the European merchant.

“The natives keep a store of rings only till they have a sufficient quantity to make it worth their taking a journey to the coast to sell them — they keep very few as ornaments.

“The form is peculiar to the Jolaf tribe; and though I cannot say that it was designed to mark its purity, I think it must be that, or else a mere mark of national distinction. When I first saw the ring, I compared it with the print of a ring you kindly sent me, and found it so similar, that I believed the form to be traditional, and the design of it to be sought for in the ancient history of the people to whom you referred.<sup>1</sup> The distinctive form does not mark divisions or multiples of a given weight.

“Finger-rings are worn, but, generally speaking, only till opportunity offers of selling them. The one sent I believe is a finger-ring. Ear and nose-rings were of course originally worn; hence their shape is still preserved; but in modern times nose-rings are rarely used, and ear-rings *only occasionally* by females. They more usually use ear-drops of amber. They prefer wearing *gold* and silver in the shape of armlets. Plate jewels are invariably made for ornament, and not for traffic; and when they are sold it is from necessity. The weighing of the ring in barter, is merely to ascertain its weight generally, and not to prove a *true weight*, as a multiple or division of a fixed unit.”

Mr. Denton says of the Foulah plate-ring. “It came to

---

<sup>1</sup> “The print of a ring” to which Mr. Denton alludes, was a lithograph of the half of a gold ring, weighing two penny-weights twelve grains, found in that divided state in a turf-bog, near Sligo, on the 12th of August 1845, and now in the possession of Edward Hoare, Esq., of Cork.



me from the Timneh country, and most probably was brought thither by the Foulahs, or some tribe further inland than the Jolafs."

I have given Mr. Denton's account fully, that I may not be supposed to extract parts calculated to support my views, and to leave out others which might militate against them.

By reference to the smaller of two African gold rings, engraved in Volume VI., page 201, of the Numismatic Chronicle, and which are now in the cabinet of the Society, it will be seen, that the Jolaf ring now produced, which weighs 135 grains, and is shewn in the plate which accompanies this (No. 1.), varies from the penannular pointed ring of twisted gold of ordinary currency in Africa amongst the natives of the interior, by the addition of a small bulb at a little distance below each pointed end. The addition of these bulbs to the common penannular pointed ring, induces me to believe, that the essential character of these rings, with or without the bulb, is that of a nose, or ear-jewel, as supposed by Mr. Denton. It is evident that these bulbs were added by the Jolafs, to prevent the twisted surface giving pain to the nose or ear by accidental rotation; and it would seem, that in former times when the *unbulbed* pointed ring of twisted gold was used amongst them as an ornament for the nose or ear, they were so attached to the twisted pattern, from long habit, that they preferred the obviating the inconvenience found in the wearing by the addition of these bulbs, to the adoption of the European fashion of smoothing the surface of the ring worn in the ear. In this we see an irresistible attachment to what we may conceive an ancient habit amongst the Africans. We know that the twisted pattern of gold ornaments, of the penannular character, whether for the body, the neck, the arms, or other parts of the person, was one of ancient date.

Mr. Birch, in his excellent papers "On the Torc of the Celts," in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (vol. ii., page 378), states "that the shape of the oldest Torques was funnicular;" and he illustrates this, by representing a portion of rope, knotted at each end, and another portion trimmed as a torques; and he adds, "that this twisted form was no doubt originally suggested by some such simple form." In penannular rings of much smaller size than the torques, the twisted shape has been the most frequent pattern noticed in the various finds of ancient rings in the northern and western parts of Europe; and the Sagas of the ancient Scalds abound in references to "rings of twisted gold" (*wundun golde, aurum tortum*, *Browulf*. — Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, page 107).

The twisted pattern of gold in ornaments, is traced on ancient monuments from the west of Europe, to Persepolis in Asia, as shewn by Mr. Birch in the article already alluded to; and numerous instances might be quoted, of other habits of similar character being found amongst nations widely separated from each other, both as to locality and age. The inference which I propose to deduce from these facts is, that the twisted pattern of gold rings is one most probably of very ancient date amongst the native Africans, handed down to them through various channels; and, as I believe, together with the concurrent use of the ring as a money-jewel, and article of ornament.

Another remarkable fact stated by Mr. Denton, in reference to the *Jolaf* rings, is, that, however it may be surmised that the bulbs have been added to the pointed penannular rings to render them less inconvenient for use as nose or ear jewels, these rings have, in modern times, almost entirely ceased to be used for ornamental purposes, and are now made "especially with a view to currency, occa-



sionally amongst themselves, but more particularly for barter with the European merchant."

It may be observed, that this view gives the idea of the rings being made for sale, as articles of trade; but this is not the fact; for the rings are weighed to ascertain their "weight generally"; and do not appear to derive additional value from their workmanship; their value as bullion being the point to be ascertained. Indeed the traders who receive them, do not sell them as *jewellery*, but melt them down as *bullion* upon their reaching Europe. This principle attaches to the rings the character of *money-jewels*; *jewels of currency*, and not of ornament. But why, it may be asked, is the bullion formed into the shape of rings at all, if the ring is no longer used or bought as an ornament; and is only estimated by the weight of gold it contains? My answer is—That in all probability, the bullion is formed into such shape, from the precise motive which influences us in the coinage of a certain quantity of gold into the form of a sovereign, namely, to give assurance of certain particulars belonging to it. It is true, the shape of the ring does not give, as the sovereign, information of a specific *weight*, combined with a specific fineness of bullion, and consequently of a definite value; but in the estimation of the Africans it may be, and I think there is reason to believe that it is, intended to convey an idea of a specific standard of purity. The reader of sacred history must have been struck with the frequent mention in it of, and the importance attached to, "pure gold"; therefore if any assurance could be conveyed, by a particular form of "pure gold" in an article of ornament, such assurance would be a matter of great advantage. The Africans of the present day, I may beg the Society to bear in mind, are not in a stage of society very different or inferior to some

racés mentioned in the Bible in connection with the estimation "of pure gold"; I allude especially to the migratory Arab tribes. It is at once admitted that ring currency is much less complete in the intelligence which it conveys, than medal money; but the question is, not as to the *extent* of information which it communicates, but whether it is intended to convey *any* assurance of certain properties. In this rests the principle of coinage; the greater or less degree of information afforded, makes the form only one of more or less perfection: and we must not forget that the medal is the money of civilised and highly refined communities; the money-jewel of migratory races, slightly advanced in civilisation, and in the appliances of art. It may be further asked, If an assurance of a certain degree of purity of bullion be the only object in the formation of bullion into rings of a particular shape by the native Africans, and they get nothing for the trouble of fabricating these rings, why do they not adopt some more easy and less expensive, or some more perfect way of forming their currency? The answer to this inquiry must be — The force of habit; and perhaps an apprehension lest a change of form should beget a want of confidence in the receiver of their currency as to its degree of purity. Even the most polished nations, when their currency has obtained a high repute for purity, have been very reluctant to vary or improve their type, however capable of it, lest they should lose in the less ready admission of the quality of their coinage, more than they would gain in the beauty of their mintage. The Athenians, as we all know, were very slow in altering their first rude coinage, because the idea of great purity was extensively attached to it.

Mr. Denton has shewn how strongly the Africans adhere to their ancient form of currency, by stating that they still



continue the form of a ring of twisted gold, made into a shape of a nose or ear-jewel; though one use of that form, its application as an ornament, has almost entirely passed away. He says "they prefer wearing *gold* and silver in the shape of plate armlets." But not only do they wear plate *armlets*, but also plate finger-rings; and he has brought over a curious plate finger-ring, obtained, he believes, from the Foulah tribe. This ring (marked No. 2, in the drawings) I have sent for the inspection of the Society. It is, as the Society will see, in the form of such a shield as the ladies use to protect their fingers in sewing. A valued friend, Benjamin Nightingale, Esq., to whom I am under great obligations (which I wish here respectfully to acknowledge) for important assistance, both in very useful suggestions, and in highly finished drawings, during my pursuit of this subject, has drawn my attention, since I began to write this paper, to the ring of King Ethelwulf, shewn in Mr. Albert Way's paper upon "Decorative Processes, connected with the Arts, during the Middle Ages," published in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* (vol. ii. page 163), which in shape, not in refined fabrication, is almost a counterpart of this Foulah plate-ring. By the kind permission of Mr. Albert Way, as already stated, I am enabled to lay before the Society an impression from his engraving of Ethelwulf's ring, inserted at the end of the portion of this paper devoted to the discussion of the Jolaf rings. Though it does not fall exactly within the scope of my argument to descant upon the Foulah ring, yet I cannot help, by way of parenthesis, making a few observations upon it. The singular resemblance to the mitre-shaped ring of the Anglo-Saxon king, seems almost to induce a belief of a common source of design; and Mr. Nightingale has pointed out, that about the age of Ethelwulf, the

English began to avail themselves of the skill of Byzantine artists to improve their own artistic skill; and he has suggested the question—how far it may be possible, that the Africans, through the almost inexplicable, indirect channels of trade-intercourse, may have derived this pattern from Constantinople; and, by the powerful influence of habit, have continued it to the present day. The perpetuation of a habit is strictly in keeping with what we observe amongst many half-civilised races; and it is upon this ground that I have based much of my reasoning as to ring-currency; connecting what we find in modern times, with what we have only imperfect evidence to affirm existed in remote ages, by the link of unchanging custom. But there is another interesting particular connected with the Foulah ring, and uniting it as it were, through a long series of ages, with the mechanical habits of the Anglo-Saxon era. I asked Mr. Cox, a jeweller in Leamington, through whose hands the ring came to me, how he conceived the pattern worked upon the ring had been effected; and he at once said, “that he conceived the native artist had worked it with punches and chisels, part by part,” as Mr. Hawkins supposes the jewels in the Cuerdale find were ornamented. The ring has been evidently worked from a flat plate, in which the lines and circles have been punched; and upon careful examination we found, that where the artist had intended to work his pattern, he had made his plate thicker in the first instance, beating the gold thinner from the centre to the edges. This will be seen upon minute inspection. The object has evidently been to prevent marks, in punching, on the inner side, and shews a degree of ingenuity which we have not been disposed to give the Africans credit for. The lines will be found here and there to have passed the proper outline of the design, as I think



Mr. Hawkins states to be the case in some of the Cuerdale jewels. The weight of the Foulah ring is 117 grains; but from inspection of one end of the loop, Mr. Cox inclines to think, that a portion has been cut or broken off; perhaps, originally, the loop would have reached round the finger. It would be interesting to ascertain if the Cuerdale jewels have had any thicker substance of metal left at the parts which the artist intended to ornament with a pattern.

I may here beg permission to say, that I have submitted the first copy of this paper to Mr. Denton, that I might not misrepresent his information and experience amongst the Africans; and in returning it, he says of my paper, "I have read it over carefully, and do not perceive that you have at all misunderstood, or unfairly represented my remarks. Your reasonings and conclusions on them appear to me very just."

Mr. Denton had a large quantity of African rings, more than twenty-four pounds' worth as bullion, which I was to have seen; but owing to a misunderstanding, not considering them of any particular interest, he parted with them at bullion price to a jeweller, who melted them down. The general quantity was of the simple, penannular, pointed, twisted-gold shape, without bulbs—the only varieties in the whole being the Jolaf ring and Foulah ring before the Society, and two enormous rings, one three ounces, and the other one and a half-ounce, troy weight. I desired Mr. Cox who saw these, and who weighed, and well remembered them, to draw me a rough sketch of them, which I lay before the Society; but which, as from memory, I do not think should be engraved. It will be seen that they are exactly like the two rings presented to the Society by Mr. Hampden and myself in 1843, and which I would request to be compared with Mr. Cox's sketch. Mr. Denton

says of the larger ring, "it was of the twisted penannular character, too large and too heavy to be worn in any part of the person, and therefore quite confirmatory of your views as to the origin and design of ring-money." Mr. Denton has favoured me with an account of the way in which the Africans form their penannular pointed gold rings. He says, "the gold, when melted, is run into bars of different sizes; then cut off in lengths, heated, and twisted whilst hot; the ends are then hammered out."



#### CINGALESE SILVER FISH-HOOK SHAPED MONEY.

THE next class of exchangeable media to which I wish to solicit the notice of the Society, is the silver currency of the kings of Kandy, in the island of Ceylon. Of these there are two specimens from the cabinet of Mr. Walter Hawkins, marked Nos. 3 and 4 in the plate; and three from the cabinet of Dr. Lee, marked respectively in the plate, Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Some of these are the money supposed by Mr. Akerman, as previously stated, to be that referred to by old writers as money, in "shape like a fish-hook." Others are straight in shape, but doubled. I shall speak of the curved type first. To a fish-hook, the curved variety has a general resemblance; inasmuch as one limb of the



curve is shorter than the other, and is bent inwards at the top. But the particular form of it may be described, as that of a thin rod of silver, first doubled together, so that the two ends are brought nearly level with each other; then the two ends bent upwards and inwards, so as to form the hook part. This will be best understood by reference to the specimens and the plate. The *straight* variety is doubled into two limbs; the limbs being separated a little, so as to admit, by a slight force, the opening of them up to the bend; for the purpose, probably, of being fixed upon a cord, for convenience of carriage; the limbs, when so opened, and the cord introduced, being again pressed close together for the security of the money.

In both these varieties, we have the same object kept in view, as I have endeavoured to establish by reference to the drawings of the money-rings of ancient Egypt, and by inference and deduction, in the accounts of the loops of money in the case of the sons of Jacob; and in the passage of Deuteronomy (xiv. 24, 26), "Thou shalt turn it (their tithe) into money, and bind up the money in thine hand"; and in the history of the ear-rings of Job (xlii. 11), and of the Midianites (Judges viii. 24, 26); and of many instances in the middle ages — obtained in remote times; the object, namely, of the convenient carriage and safe custody of their representatives of property; of, in fact, to all intents and purposes, their *money*.

But there is another feature in this Cingalese money, which seems, without any overstrained inference, to reflect back upon the different varieties of loopable bullion, a pecuniary character, however imperfectly developed; namely, that, as in medal-money, it bears an *inscription*. This first became known to me in the specimen marked No. 3. The inscription is stamped on the back of the

coin, but at present it cannot be deciphered, for the reason which will be explained. The piece was submitted to Professor Wilson, who pronounced the stamp to be that of letters—not perfect, but as if of a portion of letters; such an impress as might be imagined to be formed by several of the pieces being placed side by side, and then stamped by a die, containing a word or words, of sufficient width to reach across the whole number. This opinion was entertained also by Mr. Nightingale; and subsequently by Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, as to other specimens, but who stated that he had never seen two or more specimens that would form a distinct word. This specimen (No.3) weighs seventy-four grains. In addition to the inscription, it bears three notches on one of the sides exhibited. At first it was a matter of question whether these notches were accidental or intentional; but upon examination of another specimen in Mr. Walter Hawkins' possession, and one in Dr. Lee's, it was found that both these had each six of these notches; and on a third, in Dr. Lee's cabinet, there are two such notches. On No.4, in the plate, weight 66 grains, a specimen of Mr. Walter Hawkins', of which there are three views, there is a more distinct impression than on No.3. On No.5, in the plate, of which there are two views, a piece of Dr. Lee's, there is, in addition to six notches, of which mention has been made, an inscription, which Mr. Vaux believes, as far as can be ascertained from the imperfect stamp, to be in the Persian character; and he thinks he can read the word "Malek," king. If this be so, it is a step further on to a medallic inscription, as referring, most likely, to some particular king of the Kandians, during whose reign the piece was struck. This specimen weighs 75 grains. On No.6, likewise Dr. Lee's, the stamp seems to be a single ornamental



chequer (?). This piece is, as No. 5, a fish-hook variety; and weighs 67 grains. The last of Dr. Lee's pieces is a straight one, No. 7, in the plate. This weighs 73 grains. There is an appearance of an inscription on one side of this, instead of on the back, as in the other specimens. Such are the peculiarities of this singular coinage, if we may apply the term to it.

Mr. Nightingale says—“It has always been my impression, that in those times when bullion was ‘current-money with the merchant,’ silver was carried about in bars, and divided, or cut off in lengths or lumps, according to the weight required. Now these specimens are a step in advance; for it is a bar of a small size, adjusted to a certain weight, and apparently having an authorised stamp; only being doubled up or bent, for the sake of convenient stowage. Nay, I can even suppose that a number of these pieces constituted ‘bundles of money,’ for they are capable of being strung, skewered, or spitted, like a ring, or a modern Chinese copper coin.”

With the latter part of Mr. Nightingale's observations I most fully agree; but from the former part I must beg leave to dissent. I think there would be so much uncertainty in cutting off the exact weights of a shekel, or its multiples, or divisions;—there would be so much inconvenience, and risk of loss, in carrying about small portions of such bars, which either might be left in the process of adjusting to weight; or be kept as make-weights; that almost from the very first use of bullion as a medium of exchange, the buyers and merchants, would, at leisure periods, prepare the weights of silver most likely to be required in their transactions; which would be tested, at the time of trading, as to accuracy, by being weighed in the balances, then, as now, carried about by every travelling

merchant or dealer of the East. As I have in former communications pointed out, jewels were made of a specific weight in ancient times, as if in readiness for exchange in case of need; witness the jewels of Rebekah—the face jewel of half a shekel, the bracelets of ten shekels weight; witness (in Numbers vii. 54, et seq.) the offering of silver chargers of 130 shekels; the silver bowls of 70 shekels; and the golden spoons of 10 shekels, each: and in much later times, in the mediæval ages, witness the gold-rings of half a mark, a mark, and two marks' weight, in the Norwegian Sagas.

That an authorised stamp, as in the Siamese coins; and more particularly in the Cingalese currency, might be adopted at an early period, I think probable; and we find this practised at the present day in China after an assay made of bullion used as a medium of exchange. If this mark of authenticated purity was anciently used, the step from a jewel of a specific weight, stamped to indicate its purity, to medal money, would be very slight. I have said that I think it *probable* that such a mark was used at a very early period; and I am led to this belief, because the true reading of the passage relative to Abraham's purchase of "the field of Ephron" is, "four hundred shekels of silver, current *silver* with the merchant"; as if of that weight of *silver*, known in some way, probably by an assayers' stamp, to be of a quality current with the merchant: just as in China at the present time. The very *necessity of the case* would almost seem to afford us a *proof* of the fact; for we can scarcely suppose that an assay would be practicable in every transaction of trade; in the busy market, or the distant encampment: indeed we must be convinced that it would be utterly *impossible*.

Before finishing the subject of Cingalese coinage, I may



take leave to introduce a quotation from Dr. Davy's Ceylon, page 245, as to its current value. — "Silver Currency is called Riddy or Rheedy (*Riddy silver*), and is worth about seven-pence English; it is equivalent to sixty-four Kandian Challies (*chally, copper*). Its form is singular; it resembles a fish-hook, and is merely a piece of silver wire bent."<sup>2</sup> It will at once be seen, that Dr. Davy's account is very deficient for numismatic purposes.

In closing this communication, I have to request the pardon of my learned brethren of the Numismatic Society, for the introduction and continuance of a subject which may by some be held not strictly within the objects of the Society. To my own mind it has appeared an interesting inquiry to ascertain the progress by which the most ancient form of medial exchange, bullion — assumed its present comprehensive medallion character. And in reference to the peculiar mode in which I have pursued the subject, I wish to observe, — that it has long been my conviction, that if we are ever to develop clearly the state of metallic currency antecedently to the use of medal money; it must be by carefully collecting and arranging the incidental notices which we meet with in Sacred History, the only written history existing of the time; and by comparing them with the art-history of ancient nations, and with the habits of existing communities, in a similar stage of civilization with the inventors of the bullion medium. That the information handed down in Sacred History is not more precise, ought not to be submitted as a reason for believing that more extensive and definite knowledge could not have been

---

<sup>2</sup> Not having opportunity of access to Dr. Davy's work, I am indebted to Mr. Walter Hawkins for the quotation above, as well as for repeated numismatic favors.

communicated. Had the sacred historians had the object in view to explain their currency; no doubt they could, and would have done it distinctly. But they only incidentally referred to the subject, as far as was needful for the purpose they had to carry out,—the history of the Jews as a selected, religious nation. Secular or scientific knowledge was a mere accident in their records: and yet it is truly surprising to find how much information may be gathered from the Bible, “by,” as the learned Butler says in his Analogy, “comparing and pursuing intimations scattered up and down in it, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world”: and he continues, as to the way in which “natural knowledge” is to be come at—“this is the way in which all improvements are made; by thoughtful men tracing on obscure hints, as it were dropped us by nature accidentally, or which seem to come into our minds by chance.”

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. B. DICKINSON.

*Leamington, November 17th, 1848.*

To the Secretary of the Numismatic Society.

---

XVI.

COIN OF VALENTINIAN WITH THE PHOENIX.

[Read December 21st, 1848].

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to forward you a brief notice of a coin which some time since came into my possession, and which, in addition to its extreme rarity, appears to me to possess considerable interest. It is of silver of the common diminutive size of



the period, and on the obverse bears the usual diademed head of the younger Valentinian, with the legend D. N. VALENTINIANVS JUN. P. F. AUG. — *Rev.* A Phoenix with radiated head, standing on a globe. Legend, PERPETVETAS (*sic*), exergue T.R.P.S. It is in very good, if not fine condition. Both yourself and Mionnet give the same coin (but without the exergual letters) on the authority of Banduri. Banduri gives it as being in the Farnese cabinet; and in a note says, "Nummus rarissimus imo singularis est, et desideratur in Mediobarbo."

The coin, as described by Banduri, is figured in Pedrusi's Catalogue; but it appears from the engraving, an injury or defect has obliterated the letters in the exergue of that specimen.

I suppose there cannot be a doubt that this coin was struck at a time when circumstances and appearances would seem strongly to point out the perfect security and stability which surrounded the young emperor on the throne.

The successful revolt of Maximus in Britain, who had destroyed the life, and usurped the throne of Gratian, the brother of Valentinian, and emperor of the western division of the empire, together with the intestine squabbles which the Arian controversy had caused throughout the empire, must, notwithstanding the aid and protection afforded by the great Theodosius, have rendered it very apparent that at that early period there could not have been that perfect security and firmness which the type of this highly interesting and curious little coin points out.

The usurper, Maximus, not feeling satisfied with the throne of Gratian, invaded the dominions of Valentinian, when Theodosius bringing a powerful army to the young emperor's aid, the invader was destroyed, and Valentinian

reinstated not only in his former dominions, but the whole western empire was added to his government.

Justina, the emperor's mother, who appears to have favoured the Arian faction, and who endeavoured to instil the poison into the mind of her youthful son, thereby rendering him unpopular, "did not long survive her return to Italy; and though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son. The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instruction, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education." Valentinian was therefore now free to act and think for himself. The whole western empire, in addition to his former dominions, was his own. With these magnificent and undisturbed possessions, and with the aid and protection of Theodosius, the greatest and most powerful prince of his time, it would seem that now indeed nothing was likely to occur to disturb or endanger the prosperity and stability so happily established. Hence the significant and beautifully expressive type of the Phoenix standing on a globe — "Perpetuitas."

"Par volucer superis — stellas qui vividus æquat  
Durando, membrisque terit redeuntibus ævum."

The exergual letters point out that the coin was struck at Treves, the capital of his newly acquired possessions. But, alas for the uncertainty of human affairs! the event completely belied the prediction — the premature and violent death of Valentinian, through the craftiness and cunning of the vile Arbogastes is well known; and the coin remains a curious and interesting monument of the disappointment and uncertainty to which the greatest princes are liable in common with ordinary humanity.



Since writing the above, I have seen in the British Museum a denarius of Theodosius, not only of the same type, but evidently (after a careful examination) from the very same die. I need scarcely say that this type of Theodosius is unpublished, of extreme rarity, if not unique, and is highly interesting, as clearly shewing the feeling of security and power which existed at this time throughout the Roman empire.

I think there cannot be a doubt that these interesting and rare coins of both Theodosius and Valentinian, *struck at Treves, and from the same die*, must have been coined and issued very soon after the destruction of Maximus and the conquest of the West; when, as Gibbon says, "The whole Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius; he derived from the choice of Gratian his honorable title to the provinces of the East—he had acquired the West by the right of conquest."

I am, &c.

HENRY L. TOVEY.

P.S.—I have made several inquiries of my numismatic friends, but I cannot find that another coin of this type, either of the younger Valentinian, or of Theodosius, is known. Should it be in the possession of either of the readers of your valuable periodical, he would confer an obligation on me, by communicating with me on the subject.

*Bermondsey-st. Southwark, October, 1848.*

---

## XVII.

## COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE coins engraved in the accompanying plates were found some years since, and most liberally presented to the collection of the British Museum by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, an example which we trust may be imitated by all who may obtain by chance similar treasures.

The types will speak for themselves, and suggest to the numismatist the period at which these rude coins may have been struck. Some of them are evident imitations of the money of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Ethelred and Edward the Confessor, while others are probably derived from Danish examples. The want of intelligible legends renders it nevertheless unsafe to speculate on their probable origin, and we must wait the chances of future discoveries before we can venture on their appropriation. At present we know not whether they are the rude workmanship of illiterate forgers, or the currency of the island in which they were discovered.

---



## MISCELLANEA.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S REPORT ON THE GOLD AND SILVER COIN IN 1717.—We are indebted to the kindness of Sir Henry Ellis for the following extract from "The Daily Courant," Monday, December 30, 1717.

*To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.*—May it please your Lordships: IN obedience to your Lordships order of reference of August 12, that I should lay before your Lordships a state of the Gold and Silver Coins of this Kingdom in weight and fineness, and the value of Gold in proportion to Silver, with my observations and opinion, and what method may be best for preventing the melting down of the silver coin; I humbly represent, that a pound weight Troy of Gold, eleven ounces fine, and one ounce Allay, is cut into  $44\frac{1}{2}$  Guineas, and a pound weight of Silver, eleven ounces two penny wt. fine, and eighteen penny weight Allay, is cut into 62 shillings, and according to this rate, a pound weight of fine Gold is worth 15 pounds weight 6 ounces, 17 penny weight and 5 grains of fine Silver, reckoning a guinea at £1, 1s. 6d. in Silver money. But Silver in Bullion exportable is usually worth 2d. or 3d. per ounce more than in Coin. And if at a medium, such Bullion of standard Allay be valued at 5s. 4d. halfpenny per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth but 14 pound weight 11 ounces, 12 penny weight 9 grains of fine silver in Bullion. And at this rate, a Guinea is worth but so much silver as would make 20s. 8d. When ships are lading for the East Indies, the demand of Silver for exportation raises the price to 5s. 6d. or 5s. 8d. per ounce, or above; but I consider not those extraordinary cases.

A Spanish Pistole was coined for 32 Reas, or 4 pieces of Eight Reas<sup>1</sup>, usually called pieces of eight, and is of *equal Allay*, and the 16<sup>th</sup> part of the weight thereof. And a Doppio Moeda of Portugal

<sup>1</sup> MS. Note.—Reas or Ryalls. wt may be ye meaning of being of equal Allay & ye 16<sup>th</sup> part of ye weight thereof y<sup>s</sup> not plain. qy.

It may be that the Allay of ye Sp: Pistole is both ye 16<sup>th</sup> part of ye weight of ye Pistole, and ye Pistole in weight the 16<sup>th</sup> part of ye weight of 4 pieces of eight. This by wt follows seems to be the meaning since he says, "Gold is therefore in Spain of 16 times more value than Silver of equal weight and Allay. The same is said of Portugal Gold according to the standard of those Kingdoms, so 16 oz. Troy of Sp. & Por. gold contains 15 oz. Troy of fine gold & 1 oz. of Allay so ye stand<sup>d</sup> in Sp: & Por: is better y<sup>an</sup> in England because ye Allay in England is the  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>th</sup> of ye weight, and in Spain & Portugal ye Allay is but ye  $\frac{1}{16}$ <sup>th</sup> & in ye wt of 16 oz. Troy there is as above 15 oz. fine gold, & but 1 oz. Allay.

was coined for 10 Crusadoes of Silver, and is of equal Allay, and the 16<sup>th</sup> part of the weight thereof; Gold is therefore in Spain and Portugal of 16 times more value than Silver of equal weight and Allay, according to the standard of those Kingdoms; at which rate a Guinea is worth 22s. 1d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spanish Silver into all Europe; so that at home they make their payments in Gold, and will not pay in Silver without a premium. Upon the coming in of a Plate Fleet the premium ceases, or is but small; but as their silver goes away and becomes scarce, the premium encreases, and is most commonly about 6 per cent, which being abated, a Guinea becomes worth about 20s. and 9d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine Gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine silver; in raising or falling their money, their Kings Edicts have sometimes varied a little from this proportion, in excess or defect; but the variations have been so little, that I do not here consider them. By the Edict of May 1709, a new Pistole was coined for 4 new Lewises, and is of equal Allay, and the 15<sup>th</sup> part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their Mints. And by the same Edict fine Gold is valued at 15 times its weight of fine Silver, and at this rate a Guinea is worth 20s. 8d. halfpenny. I consider not here the confusion made in the monies in France by frequent Edicts to send them to the Mint, and give the King a tax out of them, I consider the value only of Gold and Silver in proportion to one another.

The Ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the Empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 Guilders in Specie, and five Stivers, and commonly changed for so much silver moneyes in three Guilder pieces, and Guilder pieces as Guineas are with us for 21s. 6d. sterling; at which rate, a Guinea is worth 20s. 7d. halfpenny.

According to the rates of Gold to Silver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a Guinea is worth about 20s. and 7d. 6d. 5d. or 4d. for the proportion varies a little within the several Governments in those countries. In Sweden Gold is lowest in proportion to Silver, and this hath made that Kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with silver sent thither (I suspect) for Naval stores.

In the end of King William's reign and the first year of the late Queen, when foreign Coins abounded in England, I caused a great many of them to be assayed in the Mint, and found by the Assays, that fine Gold was to fine Silver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany and the Northern Kingdoms, in the proportions above mentioned; errors of the Mints excepted.



In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine Gold is worth, but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine Silver, and in East India it may be worth 12. And this low price of Gold in proportion to Silver, carries away the Silver from all Europe.

So then by the course of Trade and exchange between Nation and Nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine silver as  $14\frac{1}{2}$  or 15 to one; and a guinea at the same rate is worth between 20s. 5d. and 20s. 8d. halfpenny, except in extraordinary cases, as when a Plate fleet is just arrived in Spain, or Ships are lading here for the East Indies, which cases I do not here consider. And it appears by experience as well as by reason, that silver flows from those places where its value is lowest in proportion to Gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the East Indies, China and Japan; and that Gold is most plentiful in those places, in which its value is highest in proportion to Silver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raised the price of exportable silver about 2d. or 3d. in the ounce above that of Silver in Coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the Silver Coin, rather than give 2d. or 3d. more for foreign silver; and the demand for exportation arises from the higher price of silver in other places than in England in proportion to Gold, that is, from the higher price of Gold in England than in other places, in proportion to silver, and therefore may be diminished by lowering the value of Gold, in proportion to silver. If Gold in England or Silver in East India could be brought down so low as to bear the same proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for silver than for gold to be exported to India; and if gold were lowered only so as to have the same proportion to the silver money in England which it hath to silver in the rest of Europe, there would be no temptation to export Silver rather than Gold to any other part of Europe: and to compass this last, there seems nothing more requisite than to take off about 10d. or 12d. from the Guinea, so that Gold may bear the same proportion to the silver money in England, which it ought to do by the course of trade and exchange in Europe; but if only 6d. were taken off at present, it would diminish the temptation to export or melt down the Silver Coin, and by the effects, would shew hereafter better than can appear at present, what further reduction would be most convenient for the Publick.

In the last year of King William, the Dollars of Scotland worth about 4s. 6d. halfpenny, were put away in the North of England for 5s. and at this price began to flow in upon us: I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,

and they ordered the Collectors of Taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a stop to the mischief.

At the same time the Lewidors of France, which were worth but 17s. and three farthings a piece, passed in England at 17s. 6d. I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and his late Majesty put out a Proclamation that they should go but at 17s. and thereupon they came to the Mint, and £1,400,000 were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5d. 1 farthing in a Lewidor sufficed at that time to bring into England so great a quantity of French money, and the advantage of three farthings in a Lewidor to bring it to the Mint, the advantage of 9d. halfpenny in a Guinea, or above, may have been sufficient to bring the great quantity of Gold which hath been coined in these last 15 years without any foreign silver.

Some years ago the Portugall Moeders were received in the West of England at 28s. a piece; upon notice from the Mint that they were worth only about 27s. 7d. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury ordered their receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27s. 6d. Afterwards many Gentlemen in the West sent up to the Treasury a Petition that the Receivers might take them again at 28s. and promised to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging that when they went at 28s. their country was full of gold which they wanted very much: but the Commissioners of the Treasury considering that at 28s. the nation would lose 15d. a piece, rejected the Petition. And if an advantage to the Merchant of 5d. in 28s. did pour that money in upon us, much more hath an advantage to the Merchant of 9d. halfpenny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the Mint great quantities of Gold without any foreign silver, and may be able to do it still till the cause be removed.

If things be let alone till Silver money be a little scarcer, the Gold will fall of itself; for people are already backward to give Silver for Gold, and will in a little time refuse to make payments in Silver without a premium, as they do in Spain, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the Gold: And so the question is, whether gold shall be lowered by the Government, or let alone till it falls of itself, by the want of Silver money.

It may be said that there are great quantities of Silver in plate, and if the plate were coined there would be no want of Silver money: But I reckon that silver is safer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, because of the greater value of the silver and fashion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate till the temptation to export the Silver money (which is a profit of 2d. or 3d. an ounce) be diminished. For as often as men are necessitated to send away money for answering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to send away



Silver rather than Gold, because of the profit which is almost 4 per cent: And for the same reason foreigners will chuse to send hither their Gold rather than their Silver.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordships great wisdom.

ISAAC NEWTON.

*Mint Office, Sept. 21. 1717.*

FORGED AND IMITATION COINS.—In the window of a shop, in a Court leading out of one of our chief thoroughfares, a number of counterfeits and imitations of ancient Coins are exhibited for sale; among them are the following:—

Testoon of Mary Queen of Scots.

Half Testoon of ditto, countermarked on the obverse.

Dollar of Mary and Darnley, their portraits *vis-à-vis* (!).

Testoon of ditto ditto

Coronation Medal of Henry VIII.

Ditto of Edward VI.

Medal of Gregory XIII. on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Denarius of Carausius (!).

Ditto of Allectus (!).

Allectus, in gold (!)

Otho, ditto

Caliph Omar, ditto

Lord Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots, face to face, silver medal.

Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, shilling.

Mary Queen of Scots, *crowned*, shilling.

Ditto bareheaded, shilling.

Ditto ditto, sixpence.

Queen Jane Grey, crowned, shilling.

Mary of England, half-crown.

Ditto penny, two-penny, and four-penny.

Queen Elizabeth, rare shilling.

James V. of Scotland, sixpence.

Eleonora of Aquitaine, penny.

The whole of these are, or appear to be, in Silver. A short time since a *Silver Seal of King Alfred* (!) was also exhibited in the same window, but that has recently been removed. All the pieces are tolerably well executed, but would not deceive an experienced eye. The name of the person by whom, or at whose instigation, these pieces have been executed, is perfectly well known to antiquaries and collectors; and he may rest assured that it will go down to posterity in the odour of that infamous celebrity he has so deservedly obtained. The owner of this place has been told repeatedly that these coins are forgeries; and if a collector goes in to examine a coin, and expresses a doubt as to its genuineness,

the woman in the shop (for it is generally a female who is in attendance) says, "I don't know anything about them, Sir." It behoves young collectors to be on their guard against spurious imitations, and it is a good, though an old proverb, "Forewarned, forearmed" !

It is really lamentable to see what vast numbers of counterfeit and imitation coins are current; scarcely a public sale of any note occurs, but it is sprinkled with a variety of forgeries. Take the late Mr. White's Catalogue, whose coins have been sold only during the present month, and the reader may be convinced. Two pennies of Offa, of very doubtful appearance, sold at the significant prices of 6s. and 9s.; and there were fabrications of Egbert, Stephen, Cnut, Ethelred, and others, which the judicious cataloguer properly described as such. But it would be better if all such pieces were melted, and not allowed to appear at all in a sale catalogue. Among the *imitated* coins were two copies of the celebrated Oxford Crown; one in pewter, the acknowledged work of a person named Doubleday, cast from the original in the British Museum; the other a chasing in Silver. We by no means believe that these were ever sold otherwise than as copies by the makers of them, or that they exacted more than such a price as would re-pay their labour and ingenuity. But the evil is that these imitations get into the hands of unscrupulous dealers and pedlars; and let any antiquary of experience say, if he has been in the habit of visiting provincial collections, whether he has ever found one that was free from imitation pieces,<sup>1</sup> of which the owner or keeper had never previously had a doubt. Young Numismatists are frequently deterred from the pursuit, by finding at the very outset that their inexperience is practised upon. We hold it to be a reprehensible practice to allow casts to be made, and sold, from the coins in our national collection; they furnish the models by which the knave and the forger are helped in their nefarious trade. Casts should only be allowed to students, and persons of good reputation.

We abhor the whole race of Beckers, Whites, Singletons, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> At the Sale at Strawberry Hill in 1842, the late Mr. Forster purchased *Seven engraved plates of the Stewart Family*, some of them the work of Simon Pass. On Mr. Forster's death, the Seven Silver Plates *said to be the same* that were bought at Strawberry Hill, were again sold by auction; and the writer went to the sale intending to purchase them, but was outbid, they being knocked down for 10 guineas. But the buyer was not aware, nor was the writer aware till some time afterwards, that Mr. Foster had sold out one of the best plates, and had replaced it with an imitation. The person who made the imitation was in the room, yet did not, as he ought to have done, announce the fact publicly and aloud. The writer of this went to the sale in the full faith that they were identical with the Strawberry Hill plates, and would have felt himself grievously wronged, had he been saddled with a worthless substitute.



and would exhort all numismatic collectors to unite, and form a fund to be used in defeating their infamous traffic; the family of *falsificators* is not extinct, and they do infinite mischief. Good service has been effected by Mr. Akerman in his last little work "An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Coins," by his concluding chapter on the "Forgeries of the Public money;" the only deficiency is, that he has not animadverted on the forgers of the present day.

NUMISMATICUS.

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, SON OF JAMES I., A COIN COLLECTOR.—Extract from the "Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I.," edited by Mr. Peter Cunningham, and published by the Shakespeare Society.

In the "Accompte of the Money expended by Sir David Murray, K<sup>t</sup>., as Keeper of the Privie Purse to the late noble Prynce Henry Prynce of Wales, from the 1 October 1610 to 6 November 1612, (the daye of the decease of the said Prynce) &c<sup>a</sup>., &c<sup>a</sup>.," the following entry occurs:—

"Antiquities of Medall and Coynes . . . . £2200"

No further mention is made in these "Accounts," nor was any record found in the Audit Office, as to the nature of this collection, or whence obtained. Nor in any English work to which we have had access, could we find anything to satisfy our curiosity; until chancing to look into "Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary," in the notice of Abraham Gorlæus, it is said that he "gained a great reputation by collecting Medals and Antiquities, and that after his death at Delph in April 1609, his collections were sold to the Prince of Wales."

This is all the information we have been able to glean relative to this interesting transaction. It shews the tastes and inclinations of this young Prince, who was willing to devote so large a sum (large for those days) in furtherance of Numismatic pursuits; and the presumption is that the collection must have been valuable and extensive.

After the death of Prince Henry the collection became the property of his brother Prince Charles, subsequently King Charles I., celebrated for his love of modern as well as ancient art; and it remained carefully preserved until that unfortunate sovereign fell under the power of the Parliament, when the "Rulers of Fanaticism," as D'Israeli calls them, caused the whole of the King's furniture, pictures, and collections of every kind, to be appraised, preparatory to sale, and the library, and medals, and coins only escaped the dispersion that befell the pictures through the antiquarian zeal of Selden, who apprehensive of their loss, induced his friend Bulstrode Whitelocke, then Lord Keeper of the

Commonwealth, to apply for the office of Librarian. "This contrivance," adds D'Israeli, "saved the valuable collection." Whitelocke continued in this office until 1660; but at the Restoration nearly two-thirds of the medals were missing, said to have been abstracted by Hugh Peters the Puritan, and others, between 1649 and 1652, before they came under the guardianship of Whitelocke. Ultimately, the library, and remaining medals and coins, were deposited in the British Museum, soon after the foundation of that institution.

B. N.

THE LATE WILLIAM STAUNTON, ESQ.—This respected gentleman and venerable Antiquary, died on the 29th October last, at Longbridge House, in the county of Warwick, at the advanced age of 84. He was a magistrate and deputy lieutenant of the county, and in early life had been a captain in the 1st regiment of life guards. His family was one of the oldest in Warwickshire, having been settled at Longbridge previous to 1450. Mr. Staunton was well known as devoted for a long series of years to archæological pursuits, and his collections relative to and illustrative of his native county, are of the most valuable character and interest, and will not be dispersed, it having always been his desire and intention that they should be preserved intact; and he has by his will attached them as heir-looms to the house and estate. The writer of this notice had for some years the honor of corresponding with Mr. Staunton; nor can he forget the pleasure he derived from an inspection of the varied objects of interest congregated at the charming retreat of Longbridge. Among the medallic objects illustrative of county history is the famous Keinton Medal, which Mr. S., obtained at the celebrated Tyssen Sale in 1802: this medal is said to have been struck by Rawlins the night previous to the battle of Edgehill,<sup>1</sup> when the Mint was ambulatory, and Rawlins, whose loyalty was of the staunchest character, followed the camp. The rudeness of this medal is a proof of its having been the hurried work of a few hours; and it is therefore of the highest interest. For a long period this medal was accounted *unique*; but a few years ago a second specimen came into the hands of Mr. Haggard, and now enriches that gentleman's collection.<sup>2</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hamper in his pamphlet has stated that this medal was struck at Oxford, an error arising from a misinterpretation of the legend, which is somewhat obscure, but signifies that the "dispersion of the rebels brought an omen of peace victory to Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Haggard purchased this medal of the late Matthew Young, who, we are informed, bought it of the late W. Upcott. If this be true, Mr. H's specimen is no doubt that which belonged to John Evelyn and is engraved in his "Discourse on Medals." Upcott was the editor of Evelyn's Diary, and through the favour of the late Lady Evelyn had the complete ransacking of Wootton, from whence he



are the only two examples known; the National collection not possessing one. Birmingham has long been renowned as the school of medallie art; and the productions of the Soho mint are known throughout the world. Of these, as county records, Mr. Staunton possessed a fine collection; his county portraits, books, and architectural illustrations are also unrivalled. His death has left a void that cannot soon be filled. He has departed full of years and honours, and we may say, in the language of Job, "He hath come to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season."

B. N.

---

carried off autographs, MSS., coins, medals, and other property. He was the possessor of the famous *Felton paper* which belonged to Evelyn, who had it from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Browne, the judge who tried Felton. The writer of this was also shewn by Upcott a groat of Perkin Warbeck, which he stated "was Evelyn's." We have therefore no doubt of the *pedigree* (if such a term be allowed) of Mr. Haggard's Keinton Medal.





THE  
**NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,**  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.  
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOL. XII.

APRIL, 1849.—JANUARY, 1850.



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

**LONDON:**  
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 4, OLD COMPTON STREET,  
SOHO SQUARE.

SOLD ALSO BY M. ROLLIN, RUE VIVIENNE, NO. 12, PARIS.

M.DCCC.L.

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY J. WERTHEIMER AND CO.,  
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS





TO  
MONSIEUR ADRIEN DE LONGPÉRIER,  
KEEPER OF ANTIQUITIES IN THE  
MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE,  
AUTHOR OF AN  
"ESSAI SUR LES MEDAILLES DES ROIS PERSES  
DE LA DYNASTIE SASSANIDE," ETC.  
THIS  
OUR TWELFTH VOLUME  
IS  
INSCRIBED.

MUSEUM ADRIEN DE LONGPÉRIER

REPERTOIRE DE VÉGÉTATION

MUSEUM OF THE LOUVE

REPERTOIRE DE VÉGÉTATION

REPERTOIRE DE VÉGÉTATION

REPERTOIRE DE VÉGÉTATION

THIS

OUR TWELFTH VOLUME

IN

THESE



## CONTENTS.

---

### ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

Ancient British Coins found in Whaddon Chase . . .	1
Observations on some large Brass Roman Coins; by Dr. John Lee . . . . .	19
Discovery of Coins of Constantine of the London Mint; by H. L. Tovey . . . . .	64
Unpublished Ancient British Coin, found on Farley-heath	67
On the Date of British Coins: by John Evans . . .	127
Another Type of Vericus found on Farley-heath . . .	174

---

### MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

Remarks on an unedited Mouton d'Or of Henry V; by Adrien de Longpérier . . . . .	6
Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Constitution of the Royal Mint . . . . .	27
On the Half-crowns of Charles I., of uncertain Mints; by J. B. Bergne . . . . .	57
Unpublished Half-crowns of Charles I; by J. B. Bergne	62
Note on a Gold Coin in the Cabinet of Mr. Cuff . . .	79
Descriptive List of a Collection of Coins of Henry I. and Stephen, discovered in Hertfordshire, in 1818; by J. Rashleigh . . . . .	138
Two Coins probably of the Earl of Warwick, and some Coins supposed to be Baronial; by J. Rashleigh . .	165
Unpublished Penny of Richard III. . . . .	171

## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

On the Oriental Legends of certain Imperial Arsacidan and Partho-Persian Coins; by Edward Thomas . . . . .	68
Further remarks on the Silver Fish-hook Money and the Ticals of Siam; by W. B. Dickinson . . . . .	82
Observations on a Chinese Bank Note; by Samuel Birch . . . . .	169

---

## DISCOVERIES OF COINS.

Ancient British in Whaddon Chase . . . . .	1
Of Constantine of the London Mint . . . . .	64
British on Farley-heath . . . . .	67
Roman in the forest of Dean . . . . .	151

---

## MISCELLANEA.

Robbery at the British Museum . . . . .	51
The Whaddon-Chase Find of British Coins . . . . .	52
Signor Pistrucci on the Waterloo Medal . . . . .	115
CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	125



NEUMISNATIC CHRONICLE

ERRATA.

Correspondence, page 125, *after* "B. a coin," *read* "of."  
" page 125, *for* "Mr. Donce," *read* "Mr. Douce."





# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

---

## I.

### ANCIENT BRITISH GOLD COINS FOUND IN WHADDON CHASE.

WE have the gratification of presenting our readers with a plate containing examples of this remarkable find, and of accompanying it by a few particulars, rendered necessary on account of the absurd statements in some of the provincial newspapers. One of these journals contains a description which appears to be, for the most part, a creation of the individual who penned it. It runs thus :—

“CURIOUS DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.—  
Whaddon-chase, which has long been the resort of Nimrods for hunting deer and foxes, has become the land of gold-hunters. About a week ago some men, ploughing in a field belonging to Mr. W. Lowndes, found gold coins scattered about rather profusely, the report of which soon got into circulation, as well as some of the coins, which led the neighbouring people to lend a willing hand in such a ploughing match. Some hundred coins, it is said, were found, and

VOL XII.

B

were clearly those of the early British kings. The one shown to the writer of this paragraph was struck in the time of Cunobelin or Kymbelin, about fourteen years before the Christian era. The weight of it is about 180 grains, and a good representation of it may be seen in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, article "Britain," copied from a coin in the British Museum. A horse rampant is on the obverse, and a thistle or wheat-ear on the reverse. Cunobelin is said to be the first British king who had his effigy stamped on his coins; sometimes with two faces like Janus, whose temple was closed during his reign. Six others bear one face only. Three have the name "CVNO" on them, and another the horse and wreath, similar to the one now found. Cunobelin is said to have fought a battle at Thornborough-bridge, within three miles of Whaddon; and near the site of the battle are two tumuli or barrows, one of which was opened about seven years ago, when many Roman curiosities were discovered."

Now, without remarking on the weight of "180 grains," the "thistle or wheat-ear," and other uncritical particulars, we shall proceed to give an authentic account of the discovery of these coins. It appears to us, that the writer of the paragraph, penned his information from hearsay, and that the story of the find, consisting of coins of Cunobelin, originated as follows:—A person called on a dealer in London, and offered some of them for sale. The dealer observed, that if they had borne inscriptions they would have been more valuable, and shewed his visitor engraved examples of the well-known type, bearing CVNO and the wheat-ear. This, we believe, is the sole foundation of the newspaper report.

Having recently spent a day or two at Whaddon-hall, the hospitable mansion of the lord of the manor, William



Selby Lowndes, Esq., we are able to give an authentic account of this interesting discovery. About the 18th February last, a tenant of Mr. Lowndes', named Grange, called at the Hall to say that his son had, on the Wednesday previous, ploughed up a quantity of gold coins, some of which he produced and delivered up to Mr. Lowndes. Grange has in his occupation a part of Whaddon-chase, which has been recently cleared and enclosed, and which, as tenant under Mr. Lowndes, he is cultivating by ploughing. While thus engaged, on the 14th of February, young Grange was ploughing in a field called "Narbury" in the parish of Little Horwood, when on a sudden the plough turned up a parcel of gold coins, and the discovery of course was soon noised throughout the neighbourhood, and brought to the spot many persons, some of whom contrived to get possession of nearly one hundred specimens; which have been dispersed. About 320 reached the hands of Mr. Lowndes, who has kindly submitted them to our inspection.

Fragments of an earthen vessel are said to have been turned up where the coins were found; but, on enquiry, we could gather no satisfactory information on this point, and it is not known whether they were contained in some description of urn, or placed in a less fragile depository. The passing and repassing of the plough, had scattered the coins over the surface of the land, and driven many of them nearly half-a-foot into the clay, which was dug out and burnt, whereby several pieces more were recovered.

On visiting the spot, we could perceive no traces of pottery, nor any evidence of the ancient occupation of the spot; but from the name "Narbury,"<sup>1</sup> we were led to

---

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to observe, that Narbury is the provincial form of Norbury, or Northbury.

examine the neighbourhood, and our search in a part of the adjacent chase, yet uncleared, brought us upon a very perfect Roman camp, enclosing an area of about five acres. The vallum and fosse appear to have undergone no material alteration since the position was abandoned.

Though extremely interesting to the numismatist, it is greatly to be regretted that not a single example of an inscribed coin occurs in this find. About one fourth consists of pieces of a type already well known, stamped on one side only with the rude figure of a horse, the head grotesquely shaped, and resembling the bill of a fowl, and the limbs disjointed. The rest have, on some examples, a tolerably well-executed figure of a horse unbridled and at liberty; and on the reverse, a wreath dividing the field, one of the divisions being filled up by various unknown objects; the other, by a flower which we shall not attempt to describe with the pen, but which is accurately represented in the engraving No. 1. The more perfect striking, and fair preservation of some of the coins of this description, enables us to identify others of less perfect type.

It is not easy to discover the meaning of the types of British coins of the degenerate class, to which these pieces certainly belong. The progress of corruption of design, seems to us to have been sometimes influenced in a great measure by the skill, or want of skill, of the engraver; but we shall not err much in the conjecture, that these coins are of a later period than those of Cunobelin, with the wheat-ear and rampant horse. We hold in common with the numismatists of the Continent, that the rudest coins of this class are the latest; and with this view, we do not hesitate to ascribe the coins of the Whaddon-chase find, to the important period just previous to the annexation of Britain as a Roman province; a period on which but little light is



shed by Dion Cassius, and the history of which, owing to the loss of a most important book of Tacitus, must be investigated principally by means of the few numismatic monuments which have descended to us.

A person residing in the village of Whaddon showed us a coin similar to those of the first seven specimens, which was found by a labourer in a part of the chase about five years ago; but he could give us no particulars as to the precise spot where it was picked up.

As before observed, it is all but hopeless to attempt an illustration of pieces which bear no traces of inscription, nor any very satisfactory indication of what may have been the prototype, for we must regard them as belonging to the class of degenerate British coins. All that can be done, therefore, is to chronicle their finding, and patiently wait the chance of future discoveries.

Any conjectures as to the accident which led to the deposit of these coins in such a place; whether they were the produce of plunder, or the buried hoard of a British chieftain, or the spoil of some Roman soldier located in the adjacent camp, are questions which may amuse, but can elicit nothing of value to the antiquary.

The average weight of these coins is just under 90 grains, Troy; a very few only exceeding that weight by half a grain. Though so truly adjusted, however, their fineness varies considerably.

J. Y. A.

---

## II.

REMARKS ON AN UNEDITED MOUTON D'OR, STRUCK  
IN NORMANDY BY HENRY V. OF ENGLAND.

BY ADRIEN DE LONGPÉRIER.

AMONGST the monies of which mention is most frequently made in the charts and writings of the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be mentioned the *Moutons d'or* which owe their name to their type of the pascal lamb, and their esteem and favour to the excellent standard established by St. Louis, for the *agnels* which preceded them. It is indeed the *denier d'or à l'agnel* of Louis IX., which in the decrees of his successor is so continually referred to as the standard. In general the fineness of the *Moutons d'or* was more respected by the various Sovereigns who struck them, than that of the other coins of their reign, and its type and style continued as nearly the same as the uncontrollable modifications of the arts would permit. The name of the prince reduced to a few letters, and placed in some secondary position, allowed, at each new reign, the production of pieces very closely imitating the accustomed type.

We may cite as an example a *petit mouton* of Charles VI., in the collection of M. Rousseau, bearing a secret point as an indication of its place of mintage.

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEL. QVI. TOLL. I'ECAT. MVDI. MIS. NOB.  
Lamb with nimbus, holding a banner charged with a cross fleuri; below the feet of the Lamb, K. F. RX. a point under the V of *mundi*.



*Rev.*— + XPC. VINCIT. XPC. REGNAT. XPC. INPERAT.  
a cross fleuri having a fleur-de-lis in each angle, surrounded  
by a double tressure of four arches and four angles (struck  
at St Ménehould, May 1418). Gold, weight 2.54 grammes  
(39 $\frac{1}{10}$  grs.).

One may easily conceive how much such a type was adapted to tempt the imitation of foreigners, and thus it is that we find in several countries imitations of the French *petit mouton*.

It is in this category that we place the following piece which has been discovered some few years, and is now in the possession of M. Rollin.

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLIS. PECA. MVDI. MISE.  
NOB. Lamb with nimbus, holding a banner; under the  
feet, HRI. REX. the whole surrounded by a tressure  
composed of four arches and as many angles; an annulet  
under the second letter.

*Rev.*— + XPC. VINCIT. XPC. REGNAT. XPC. INPERAT.  
cross fleuri having a fleur-de-lis in each angle surrounded by  
a tressure of four arches and as many angles, an annulet  
under the second letter. Gold, weight 2.50 grammes  
(38 $\frac{1}{2}$  grs.).

Numismatists have variously attributed this coin. By some it was given to Charles VI., by reading KRI. REX. instead of HRI. REX., a barbarous perversion to suit their own particular views. Others acknowledged the name of a Henry, king of England, but were unable to account for the absence of the two leopards, which are found in two opposite angles of the cross, on the reverses of other Anglo-Gallic gold coins.

We believe that this coin really belongs to Henry V. of England, and must have been struck in Normandy at the time of his invasion of that country in 1415. There is

nothing to astonish us in HRI. as the abbreviation of Henricus, since we find that the *petit paris* has HERI. across the field.<sup>1</sup>

In a Manuscript preserved in the Mint at Paris, containing extracts from the "*Registre entre deux aïs*," is the following passage :—

"*Item fit ouvrier ledit Henry en la même année (1415), en les monnoyes de Normandie, moutonnets pareils à ceux du roy Charles, la grande croix de devers la croix anglée de quatre fleur-de-lys. Et ont été faits à 22 karats et pour différence ont trois C sur la bannière.*"

On the margin of the manuscript are drawings posterior to the text, and often inexact, the banner of the *mouton* of Henry is there figured having on the streamer one C thus, whilst the two others are placed in opposite directions C ☉ at the extremities of the cross which terminates the shaft of the banner. The horizontal arms of the cross cut these letters and give them the appearance of being two €.

Now our coin has the shaft of the banner surmounted by a cross, the three arms of which, are each terminated by an €. It is true that the streamer presents no trace of the C ; but in spite of this defect we still have the principal fact that Henry V., struck *moutons d'or* having for their reverse a cross, *anglée de quatre fleur-de-lys*, a type which allowed of their being styled *pareilles à ceux du roy Charles*.

It may be thought singular that the moneyer of Henry, who had the *mouton* of the French prince as his model, should have placed under the feet of the lamb a legend of six letters, whilst the original exhibited four only. This peculiarity is however explained by a *mouton d'or* of Charles VI., a

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins' *Anglo Gallic Coins in British Museum*, plate iii. n. 6.



variety hitherto unknown, and at present forming part of the collection of M. Rousseau ; the type is as follows :—

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEL. QVI. TOLIS. PECA. MVDI. MISE. NOB. Lamb with nimbus, holding a banner, surmounted by a cross, the three upper arms of which terminate with **G** ; under the lamb KRL. REX ; the whole surrounded by a tressure of nine arches. An annulet under the second letter.

*Rev*— + XPC. VINCIT. XPC. REGNAT. XPC. INPERAT. A cross fleuri having a fleur-de-lis in each angle, the whole surrounded by a tressure of four angles and as many arches. An annulet under the second letter. Gold, weight 2.55 grammes ( $39\frac{4}{10}$  grs.).

When we consider how nearly the letters K and H were alike during the fifteenth century, we see at once that the distinction between the two groups KRL, and HRI. is almost destroyed by the suppression of the lower limb of the L.

It must moreover be observed, that in the legend on the reverse of both coins the words VINCIT and REGNAT are are both written with **ſ**, thus establishing an additional link between the copy and the original.

A clue to the date of this last piece is afforded us by that of the Anglo-Norman money which it must have very closely preceded, since the *gros d'argent*, struck by virtue of a decree of the 11th June, 1413, were the first Royal coins which bore the mark or *différent* called the *point secret*, under one of the letters of the legend.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Lecoindre Dupont, *Lettres sur l'histoire monétaire de la Normandie*, 1846, p. 53. This must be understood as applicable to Normandy only, as in other provinces the use of the *point secret* certainly existed at an earlier period ; thus we find in the collection of M. Rignault, a *guénar au point clos* having a mark under the sixteenth letter of both obverse and reverse, which M. Delombardy attributes to the town of Tournay, October 1389. We find also in the collection of M. Rousseau, *guénars* of Poitiers, Toulouse, and Rochelle, each having *points secrets* and belonging

It seems probable that Charles VI. (in order to avoid the confusion consequent on the introduction of these copies by the English king) caused the legend of his *moutons* to

to several mintages comprised between the years 1390 and 1410. Nevertheless the presence of an annulet under the second letter of the *agnels* of Charles and Henry gives rise to the following difficulty. Before the English invasion, the mint mark of Rouen was a *point* under the fifteenth, and St. Lo under the eighteenth letter. The English king, who looked upon these French cities as capitals, caused the distinctive mark to be transposed and placed under the two first letters of the legend of the coins struck in these cities. Henry, however, did not take Rouen till the 13th January 1419, and the mint at St. Lo did not commence working till the 20th January, 1420, or rather the 18th April, in the same year. At this period, the *moutons d'or* must have borne an H in the centre of the reverse. One cannot therefore resolve the question even by supposing that the *mouton* with the legend KRL. REX. is one of the first English copies of a coin of Charles VI., as yet unknown. It must be further observed that the banner on the two *moutons* with KRL. and HRI. is stiff and its end split into three streamers as in the time of St. Louis, a peculiarity which does not appear upon the coins of Charles and Henry of the years 1418 and 1419, and consequently shows them to be posterior.

*Mandement aux gardes de la monnaie de St. Lô de prendre de nouveaux ouvriers et monnayeurs ; 18 Avril, 1420 :—*

De monetariis constituendis—Le roy, etc. . . . . aux gardes de notre monoye de Saint Lô, salut. Il est venu à nre [notre] congnoissance que en nre dicte monoie de Saint Lô n'a que pou ou néant d'ouvriers et monoiers, qui pour le bien et avancement de nre dicte monoie ne pourroient pas hastivement fournir le fait de dicte euvre et monoierie, laquelle, au plaisir Dieu, nous avons intention de y faire faire pour le bien de nous et de nre peuple, se par nous n'y estait pourveu de remede convenable; pourquoi, nous ces choses considérés et aussi; qu'il a pou d'icelle monoie ouvree et monoiee en dit paix et es partie d'environ du coing, loy et poys que nous voullons présentiment avoir cours et effect, vous mandons, en commettant se mestier est, que tantost et incontinent ces lettres veues vous prenés, en tel nombre que souffire doye et qu'il vous sera nécessaire pour le fait de nre dicte monoie, des ouvriers et monoiers de nre dusché de Normendie, tant de nre bonne ville de Rouen que d'ailleurs, pourveu toutes



be changed, substituting in place of KRL. REX. the four letters K. F. RX. which we find on the coin struck at St. Ménehould in 1418, described at the commencement of

voyes que nostre dicte monoie de Rouen n'en soit de riens dommagée, affin qu'ilz voient et soient doresennavant et continuellement de jour en jour au dit lieu de Saint Lô, tant come il nous plaira, pour ouvrer et monoier en icelle monoie. Si mandons à tous nos suggéz, justiciers, officiers, gardes de monoie et autres à qui il appartendra que à vous et à vos comis et depputés, en ce faisant, entendent ce obéissent deuement et diligament et vous prestent conseil, confort et aide, se mestier en avés et par vous requis en sont, car ainsi nous plaist il et voullons qu'il soit fait non obstant ordonnances, mandemens ou deffenses à ce contraires. Donné à nostre Chastel de Rouen, le XVIII<sup>e</sup> jour d'Avril (patentes Normanniæ anni octavi Henrici V., parte 1<sup>a</sup> membranâ 10, dorso).

*Bail de la monnaie de Saint Lô, 18 Avril, 1420:—*

Le roy etc. . . . à tous etc. . . . salut. Savoir faisons que nous avons baillé à Jehan Marceux la monoie de Saint Lô pour un an, à prendre et à comencier icelui an après le moys de sa premiere délivrance, qui sont XIII mois; c'est assavoir que ledit Marceur fera ou fera faire bien et deuement l'ouvrage qui sera ouvrée, monoïée en ladicte monoie, le dit temps durant; c'est assavoir: groz qui auront cours pour XX<sup>d</sup> t<sup>ois</sup> (deniers tournois) la pièche, à III<sup>d</sup> VIII grains argent-le-roy, et de VI<sup>d</sup> VIII<sup>d</sup> au marc. Et par ainsy nous lui accordons par sa dicte provision, et par ces présentes d'avoir, pour chacun marc d'œuvre qui sera ouvrée et monoïée en icelle Monoie, la some de III<sup>d</sup> I<sup>d</sup> tournois. Et parce ledit Marceur sera tenu paier aux commis pour chacun marc d'œuvre XV<sup>d</sup> t<sup>ois</sup> et en XXX marcs une once de dechè, et aux monoiers XV<sup>d</sup> pour livre de groz; et icelle some de quatre soulds un denier t<sup>ois</sup> pour chacun marc d'œuvre ouvrée et monoyée, come dit est, nous voullons estre aloué en ses comptes par les gens de noz comptes et rabatu de nostre Seignurage come les deniers à nous baillé ou à nostre comandement et venuez du dit Seignurie; car ainsy nous plaist-il estre fait. Donné à nostre Chastel de Rouen, le XVIII<sup>e</sup> jour d'Avril (id. id.).

*Henri prescrit de fabriquer à Saint Lô des gros pareils à ceux que l'on frappait à Rouen, en vertu de l'ordonnance du 12 janvier précédent, et d'y mettre pour différent un petit point sous la seconde lettre des deux légendes.—18 Avril, 1420.*

Le roy a . . . etc. aux gardes de la Monoie de Saint Lô, salut.

this notice, the initial F. of Francorum constituting a sort of protest against the foreign prince.

The moneyers of Henry V., persisting in their system of imitation, reduced in their turn the legend, and adopted the tetragrammatic form H. F. RX. which possessed the additional advantage of expressing Henry's pretension to the title of king of the French.

There is no doubt that the types of coins were not unfrequently changed in order to combat the effect of such imitations. This we have endeavoured to demonstrate in another place<sup>3</sup> with regard to the imitations of the *deniers* of Charles le Chauve, and Charles le Simple, put in circulation by Pepin II., of Aquitaine and Raoul.

Henry V. returned to England in the month of November, 1415, and devoted nearly two years to negociations with the Duke of Burgundy. Assured of the support of this prince,

..... Avons ordonné et ordonnons que vous faciés faire, en nre dicte monoye de Saint Lô, groz qui auront cours pour XX<sup>d</sup> tournois la pieche, à III<sup>d</sup> VIII grains de loy, argent-le-roy, de VI<sup>e</sup> VIII<sup>d</sup> t<sup>ois</sup> de pois au marc, et aux remedes acoustumés et qui y appartiennent; et que en iceulz groz ait en la pille III feuilles de fleurs de lis et dessus une courone, et au costé d'icelles fleurs de lis II lieppars lesquels tendront icelles III fleurs de lis, en l'écriture d'entours aura escript: *Henricus francorū rex*, et en parmy de la grande croix ait une H. tout à plus juste que faire se pourra, et avec ce ferés faire pour différence souz la 11<sup>e</sup> lettre du commencement de l'écriture, tant devers la croix que devers la pille, I petit point. Et en l'écriture d'entour icelle grant croix soit escript: *Sit nomen Dni benedictu*. Et donnons au maistre particulier de nre dicte monnaie et à chacun changeur et marchant fréquentant icelle saize livres dix sous tournoys pour le marc d'argent aleyé au dit aloy, etc. Donnée en nre Chastel de Rouen le XVIII<sup>e</sup> jour d'Avril (patentes Normanniæ anni octavi Henrici V, parte 1<sup>a</sup>, membranà 10, dorso—Rymes edit. 1729, T. IX, p. 888).

<sup>3</sup> " Notice des monnaies Françaises composant la collection de M. J. Rousseau, accompagnée d'indications historique et géographiques. Par A. de Longpérier, Paris, 1848, p. 145. and 213.



he returned to France in 1417, and seized upon nearly the whole of Normandy.

It was at this time most probably, that the following *mouton d'or* was struck by his authority.

Obv.—+AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PECA MVDI. MISE.  
NOBIS. holy lamb with nimbus holding a banner surmounted by a cross ornamented with two fleurs-de-lis and a crosslet; under its feet, H. F. RX.

Rev.—+XPC. VINCIT. &c: a cross fleuri having two fleurs-de-lis and two leopards in the angles, surrounded by a tressure of four arches and as many angles. Gold, weight 2.56 grammes ( $40\frac{3}{10}$  grs.).

This piece is in the British Museum, and is of excessive rarity; it was struck probably during the two years immediately succeeding Henry's return to France.<sup>4</sup>

By a decree of the 25th September, 1419, given at the Chateau of Gisors, Henry V. modified the type of his *moutons d'or*.

*Henry à tous, etc:—Come après nostre joieuse conquête et entrée fait en nostre ville de Rouen nous eussions ordonné et comandé l'en*

---

<sup>4</sup> Some Numismatists have fallen into error in asserting that the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris possesses a *mouton d'or* of Henry V. The only examples we know of this money are those of the British Museum, and of the collection of General Ainslie. We are not yet informed whether these pieces bear *points secrets*.\* A fourth variety of Anglo-Gallic *moutons* must have been struck after the treaty of Troyes (21st May 1420), which were without the title of king of France, according to the system pursued with regard to the silver moneys which bear only the legend *heres Francie, petits moutons*, which were in consequence suppressed by an ordonnance of Charles VI. dated 13th July, 1420, by which their circulation was prescribed under the penalty of a fine and severe punishment.

\* The British Museum specimen has the *point secret* under the twentieth letter of the legend on both obverse and reverse, that is under the D of MVDI on the Obv. and under the P of the last iteration of XPC on the Rev., and is therefore of the St. Ménéould Mint.—ED. NUM. CHRON.

*fist faire à nostre Monoye, a Rouen, or et argent monayés en petis moutons et en gros,<sup>5</sup> etant par la fourme et manière qui ils estoient a devant de nostre dicte conqueste et entrée tant en lay que en poys, sans diminucion ne amenuissement faire sur ce, et semblablement sans amener le droit de nostre seigneur,<sup>6</sup> sauf les différences qui par nous furent lors ordonné y mettre. Savoir faisons que, pour certaines causes ad ce nous mouvons, par l'advis et délibération de nostre Conseil, nous avons ordonné et par la teneur de ces présentes voullons et ordonnons que, en toutes noz monoyes que l'en fera pour le temps advenir, tous moutons d'or, gros et demi gros, quart de gros d'argent, mansoys et petit deniers, que en yceulx soit mis dedeins le grant crois, en milieu d'icelle, une H au plus juste que faire se pourra avecque les différences qui par nous autrefois ont esté ordonnés faire. . . . . Item que les petis moutons qui ont cours à présent pour XII gros aient cours et soient prins pour XVIII gros de nostre monoye dessus dicte qui valent xxx sous tournois. Et donnerons à chascun changeur et marchand fréquentant nos monoyes, pour chascun marc d'or fin, VI<sup>xx</sup> XVIII livres tournois. Et demourront les moutons desusdits de poy et de lay en la fourme et manière qu'ilz ont de présent, les quieulx sont à XXII karras et de III<sup>xx</sup> et saize au marc de Troyes, aux remèdes acoustumés.<sup>7</sup>*

Nevertheless up to the present time no *mouton* has been discovered, bearing in the centre of the cross of the Reverse, the initial H of the king of England, although this peculiarity may be remarked on the *gros blancs*, *doubles*, and *deniers* of this same prince.

M. Delombardy observes in a work recently published,<sup>8</sup> that he has succeeded in distinguishing several coinages carried on simultaneously during the period between 1417, and 1422.

<sup>5</sup> That is into *gros d'argent* or *gros blancs*.

<sup>6</sup> *Seigneurage*, was a duty which the king levied upon all coin struck.

<sup>7</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera, conventiones*, etc., 1729, vol. ix. p. 798. *Rotuli patentium Normanniæ anni septimi Henrici V.*, parte i. membr. 19, dors.

<sup>8</sup> Catalogue des monnaies Francaises de la Collection de M. Rignault. 1848. p. 19.



1st. Coins of Isabel bearing the name of Charles VI.

2nd. Those of the Duke of Burgundy struck in four towns; the profits of the Mint and the superintendence of the moneyers belonging to the duke; the money bearing the name of Charles VI., and the *deniers de boîte* assayed at Paris.

3rd. Those of the Dauphin as regent of the kingdom; bearing the name of his father.

4th. Those of the Dauphin bearing his own name, as Dauphin of the Viennois.

5th. Those of the Duke of Bourbon at Trevous, struck by the authority and for the profit of the Dauphin, bearing the name of Charles VI.

6th. Those of Henry V., struck in Normandy, at first bearing the name of Charles VI., and afterwards his own name<sup>9</sup>.

Besides the *mouton d'or*, strictly regal, which we have described at the commencement of this article, and the coins of the king of England copied from it, there exist in the collection of M. Rousseau, some pieces of the same type which belong to the several series of which we have just given the characteristics.

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEL. QVI. TOLL. PECCAT. MVDI. MISE. NOBIS. Under the feet of the lamb a bar, above which are the letters K. F. RX.; the whole surrounded by a tressure of nine small arches, ending at the bar.

---

<sup>9</sup> M. Lecoindre Dupont says, that after the taking of Rouen (13th January, 1419), the king of England lost no time in ordering *petits moutons d'or* to be struck in that town for his own profit, at first exactly similar to those formerly struck there for the king of France, with the exception of some very slight prescribed differences; and that soon after the letter H was substituted for the K.

The author establishes the fact that at this time the mint at St. Lo, was inactive (*Lettres sur l'hist. mon. de la Normandie*, p. 54.).

*Rev.*— + XPC. VINCIT. &c. A cross fleuri, having a fleur-de-lis in each angle, surrounded by a tressure of four arches and as many angles, a point under the sixteenth letter. Gold, weight 2·48 grammes (the Tournay mint, 1422).

This piece was struck by the supporters of Queen Isabel of Bavaria; the following belongs to the disinherited dauphin, and circulated during the period between the death of Henry V., *hæres Franciæ*, which took place on the 29th August, 1422, and the proclamation at Paris, in the same year, on the 12th December, of Henry VI., as king of France. This *mouton d'or* was struck in a province over which the dauphin Charles exercised seigniorial rights.

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PCA. MVDI. MISE. NOBIS. Lamb with nimbus holding a banner surmounted by a small cross. Under the feet of the lamb K. F. RX. the whole surrounded by a tressure of eleven arches. An annulet under the third and eighteenth letter.

*Rev.*— Similar to the preceding with an annulet under the fourth letter. Gold, weight 2·49 grammes (struck at Embrun, October, 1422).

We will now describe a coin of extreme rarity and high interest, struck by order of the duke of Bourbon or perhaps of his mother, for the son of Charles VI. Here the initial of the king is suppressed, and we find under the feet of the lamb only the abbreviation of *Francorum rex*.

*Obv.*— + AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PECAT. MVDI. MISE. NOBIS. Lamb with nimbus, holding a banner surmounted by a cross terminating in fleurs-de-lis; under the feet of the lamb FR. RX.; the whole surrounded by a tressure of eleven arches.

*Rev.*— + XPC. VINCIT. etc., similar to the preceding. Gold, weight, 2·42 grammes (struck at Trevoux, October, 1422).

John I., duke of Bourbon, having been made prisoner at the battle of Azincourt was carried to England; where he died after a twenty years' captivity, during which period



Marie de Berry, his wife, and Charles, count of Claremont, his son, when he had attained his majority, governed his states of Dombes and Beaujolais. This event did not put a stop to the striking of money ; an inventory made in 1664 by order of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, then sovereign of Dombes, shews that in a register preserved in the treasure chamber at Trevoux, there was an entry of the *mutations des monnaies et les poids et lois auxquelles elles furent faites, du 16 juillet 1414, jus-qu'en 1422*.<sup>10</sup>

This, says M. Mantillier<sup>11</sup> was a period of difficulty for the coinage. War had deprived the French mints of their necessary resources, and they only existed by the help of remeltings. Independently of his private embarrassments, the duke of Bourbon was too intimately connected with the affairs of the king to avoid feeling the reaction of this distress at Dombes. We cannot however be astonished, that this prince, who employed the first years of his life in the war against the English, and the last in the intrigues of the dauphin, and who was mixed up with all the events of that time, should have stood in need of time and material for coinage.

These historical details explain the excessive rarity of this *mouton d'or*, which we now publish and which forms so important an acquisition to the *Numismatique* of the fifteenth century.

Henry V. dying on the 31st August 1422, and Charles the 21st of the October following ; the young Henry VI. was proclaimed king of France on the 12th November ; and the duke of Bedford caused money to be struck in the name of the English prince, everywhere within the extent

<sup>10</sup> Mantillier, Notice sur la monnaie de Trévoux et de Dombes, 1844, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

of his power. Still, even in Normandy, some strongholds remained faithful to the Dauphin: amongst these was the Mount Saint Michel, which never surrendered to foreign arms. The mint established there continued to strike money in the name of Charles VII., as we discover from four charters relative to its coinage.<sup>12</sup>

The following example from the collection of M. Rousseau, emanated in all probability from Mount Saint Michel.

*Obv.* — + AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PCAT. MVDI. MISE. NOBS. Lamb with nimbus, holding a banner surmounted by a crosslet; under the lamb's feet, K. F. RX; the whole surrounded by a tressure of eleven small arches. A point under the eighteenth letter.

*Rev.* — + XPC. VINCIT., &c. A cross fleuri, having a fleur-de-lis in each angle, surrounded by a tressure of four arches, and as many angles, around the exterior of which are six fleurs-de-lis, a crosslet, and a group of three joints; a point under the eighteenth letter. Gold, weight 2.56 grammes (struck May 1423).

This piece, the style of which is comparatively recent, agrees perfectly with the first year of the reign of Charles VII; but, as on the one hand, there is no doubt as to the abrication of *Moutons d'or* after the decree of the 26th October, 1428; so on the other, it must be observed that Charles only recovered the Norman towns where mints were established, in the year 1449; the presence, therefore, of the *point* under the eighteenth letter, the *French* mark of St. Lô is, at first sight, embarrassing. It is, however, natural enough to suppose that this *point secret*, fallen into disuse in consequence of the ravages of the English, was prescribed to the place which had succeeded to St. Lô, in the list of French mints.

<sup>12</sup> Lecoindre Dupont. *Lettres sur l'hist. mon. de la Norm.*, pp. 135, 138, 139, 142.



We see, indeed, in the year 1453, the officers of the king, who had exercised their functions at Mont Saint Michel, protest against a nomination of two keepers of the mint of St. Lô, made 30th June, 1450.<sup>13</sup> At this epoch, the last-named town had abandoned the English mint-mark, the *annulet* under the second letter, in order to adopt the *point* under the eighteenth letter, and Mont Saint Michel ceased to exist as a mint. From this coincidence, it appears that these two mints only struck French money, to the exclusion of each other.

If then our conjectures are correct, this *Mouton d'or* must have been minted in the same year, when Louis d'Estouteville with his hundred and nineteen knights, aided by the monks of the Abbey, repulsed the desperate attacks of the English, with a courage which remains justly celebrated to the present day.

ADRIEN DE LONGPÉRIER.

### III.

#### OBSERVATIONS ON SOME REMARKABLE LARGE BRASS ROMAN COINS.

[ Read before the Numismatic Society, 22nd February, 1849. ]

#### LETTER I.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to submit to the inspection of the Numismatic Society ten large brass Roman coins, which are worthy of attention, both as works of art, and as historical records.

---

<sup>13</sup> Recueil des ordonnances, t. xiv, p. 257.

I.—The first is of Tiberius, and was struck in the city of Tarraco, as the legend of the obverse shews — C.V.T.T. (*Colonia Victrix Togata Tarraco*). The portrait is a good likeness, and was evidently copied from that on his large brass Latin coins, which are so rare.

II.—The second is of Galba, restored by Titus, as the legend on the reverse implies ; the word *rest* being placed in the field above the uncial letters S.C., which are placed in the centre.

III.—The third is a restored coin of Augustus, by Titus, the obverse having the representation of the first emperor, with radiated crown, seated in a chair before an altar, holding the hasta-pura and a thunderbolt. The word *REST*, for *Restituit*, appears in the field above the letters S.C., which are placed in the centre.

IV.—The fourth is a coin of Titus, of a common type, but very remarkable for the portrait, which bears strong marks of individuality, and appears to have been executed with more care than many of this emperor's coins. The profile is exceedingly sharp and well defined, and there is an expression of *reality* which is so often wanting in Roman portraits. Reverse ; PAX. AVGVST.

V.—The fifth is of Domitian, of a type closely resembling that given by the learned Capt. Smyth, No. XCIX. The portrait of the youthful emperor is given as far as the shoulders, divested of that ideal character which is imparted to it on many, and indeed nearly all, of his coins. Suetonius informs us that he was a very comely person, and this portrait certainly justifies that description. Reverse ; PONT. MAX. TRP. LVD. SAEC.

VI.—The sixth is of Hadrian, with the head of the emperor, occupying a large portion of the field of the coin, jaureated and bearded, as he usually appears. The reverse



represents Neptune holding a dolphin and a trident, resting his foot on the prow of a galley. The position, and the accompaniments of this figure, lead to the inference that it was probably a copy of a statue set up at Rome in this reign.

VII.—The seventh coin is also of Hadrian, (of a type already described and illustrated by Capt. Smyth,) with the legend, ADVENTVL AVG. IVDAEAE. The portrait represents the emperor with bare head, and to the shoulders, which are clothed. It differs in design very much from that of the preceding coin, and the features have a more agreeable expression.

VIII.—The eighth has a portrait, probably executed from a bust approved by the emperor. It has a much more elevated and intellectual character; the head is laureated, and the right shoulder is bare. The reverse represents the emperor in the toga, standing, his right hand stretched towards an eagle, which descends to him bearing the *hastapura* in its talons. Legend; *Providentia Deorum*.

IX.—The ninth coin is peculiarly deserving of attention. It is of the elder Faustina, with the legend *Pietas Aug.*, a woman sacrificing before a temporary altar. She holds in her left hand an *accera*, of a shape precisely similar to that of the very remarkable enamelled vessel discovered in the Bartlow Tumuli, in Essex, some years since, and described and engraved in the *Archæologia*. This coin has been already alluded to by Mr. Akerman at a former meeting of the society, and has been the subject of a paper read by him to the Society of Antiquaries in their last session.

X.—The tenth and last coin is of Caracalla. It is in the finest possible condition, and covered with a most perfect dark green patina, so dear to the numismatic antiquary. The reverse bears the type of two victories, affixing a

buckler to a palm-tree, at the foot of which two captives are seated. Legend; *Victoriæ Britannicæ*.

J. LEE.

November, 1848.

---

LETTER II.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Numismatic Society having honoured me by an inspection of ten large brass Roman coins, which I lately had the privilege of exhibiting at one of their monthly meetings, I now beg leave to exhibit ten other examples in the same series, and which, although not of rare occurrence, appear to be worthy of attention.

I.—The first of these is of the Emperor Hadrian, with the bare-shouldered bust, on which I have already remarked. The reverse has for legend, PONT MAX, TR. POT. COS. II. etc., the continuation of the style from the other side; and in the exergue ADVENTVS AVG. Coins of Hadrian, commemorating his advent in the several provinces which he visited, are well known. He is generally represented in the toga, and bare headed,—not on horseback, as many of his successors were figured on their coins. On this example, he is depicted in the toga; while *Rome*, seated on a coat of mail and a shield, holding a spear, extends her right hand to receive that of the emperor. There can be no mistaking this type, which forms the sequel to the series of this emperor's coins; inscribed ADVENTVS, and evidently commemorating the *return* of Hadrian from his visit to the provinces, to the capital of the Roman empire.

II.—The second coin is of Hadrian, the obverse having



the larger head laureated. It was struck when the emperor was consul for the third time. I am unable to explain the signification of the type, or why Diana is not represented, a Diana *succincta*, but in long robes. A very graceful female figure standing on the right, holds an arrow in her right hand, and a bow in her left. Was this chosen in compliment to the empress Sabina? I am inclined to think it was. Perhaps some member of the society, or some visitor, who now favours us with his company, will oblige me with his opinion upon the subject. It has a delicate tinge of green patina.

III.—The third coin is also of Hadrian. The head is bare, and the toga is fastened by a circular fibula on the right shoulder. The reverse bears the legend FORTVNAE. REDVCI. The emperor in the toga, standing to the right, joins his right hand with that of an elegant female figure, who, by her attributes, the cornucopia and rudder, as well as by the legend, we know to be Fortune, that Divinity so devoutly worshipped by the Roman people, that she must have supplanted others originally of more importance in their mythology. Hence the allusion of Juvenal.

Nullum Numen abest, si sit prudentia: sed te  
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam coeloque locamus.

Sat. x. 366; xiv. 315.

IV.—The fourth coin is of Antoninus Pius, struck while that emperor held the consulship for the third time; an important period in his reign, as the various coins inscribed *Britannia* testify. The type of the reverse represents the favourite symbol of Rome—the wolf and the twins. Antoninus seems, by the type of his numerous beautiful medallions, as well as by those of some of his large brass coins, to have delighted in records of the most popular myths of ancient Rome; and the appearance of the

type of the wolf and twins on this example is readily accounted for.

V. — The fifth example is another coin of Antoninus, in beautiful condition, struck in his *fourth* consulship. The type and legend, FELICITAS. AVG. are not inappropriate on the money of a virtuous emperor, whose delight was in making his subjects happy. The reverse exhibits a tall elegant female figure, clad in robes which reach to her feet. In her left hand she holds the long Caduceus, the usual attribute; and in her right, the figure of the *Capricornus*. The senate who had the direction of this coinage, probably intended by this emblem, to typify the happy state of the Roman people, under the benevolent rule of Antoninus, whom they likened to another Augustus, who was born under the sign *Capricornus*. This conjecture is, however, open to discussion; and I shall be happy to receive from any one a more probable explanation to it.

VI. — The sixth coin is of the elder Faustina, the unfortunate wife of Antoninus. She is styled *Diva Faustina*. The obverse is in very beautiful preservation, and we see the elegant arrangement of the hair, which is plaited and braided in an elaborate manner (although not quite to the extent of refinement to which the modern ladies of quality in Abyssinia dress their hair), and carried to the top of the head. This distinguishes her portraits from those of the younger Faustina. The reverse represents the goddess Juno, wearing the stola and peplum, and holding a patera in her right hand extended, and the hastapura in her left, which rests on the ground. The device is doubtless chosen in compliment to the empress, who is, in fact, represented with the attribute of the goddess; and thus the reverse of this coin is connected with the obverse, on which this abandoned woman is styled by the servile senate, *Diva*.



VII. — The seventh example is of Commodus, and bears a youthful and graceful head of the emperor, with the legend, *L. Aurel. Commodus Caess. Aug. fil. Germ.*; and the reverse contains the continuation of the title, *Princeps Juventutis* (PRINC. IVVENT.) Having accompanied his father in the German war, the youthful prince is dignified with the full honours of a conqueror. The title, *Germanicus*, and the *trophy*, shew that the senate were ready to award him the full meed of praise for his participation in the perils of that campaign; but we know that they were equally prompt to commemorate his unworthy deeds and to eulogise acts which may be paralled with those of the vilest of the Caesars.

VIII. — The eighth coin (APOL. INI · M TRP. XIV. COS. VI.) is also of Commodus, and exhibits the emperor under the aspect of a man of mature age, bearded and laureated. The reverse bears the figure of Commodus, as Apollo, *in a female habit*, holding the plectrum, and resting his lyre on the top of a cippus or column. That the emperor is really thus represented, may be seen in the fact that the head of the figure is laureated; and that the features are those of the despot himself, and not ideal, as those of a divinity. Commodus assumed many names, but was more partial to that of *Hercules*, in which character he performed many acts of extravagant cruelty, some of which appear almost incredible.

IX. — The ninth coin (*Α · ΚΙ Π Ε Κ Κ. ΝΙ Γ Ρ Ο C. Ι Ο Υ Κ Τ Ο C. C Ε Β.*), though not of Roman fabric, claims a place here on the score of its being somewhat rare, and belonging to the series of Roman emperors. It bears the head of Pescennius Niger, one of the candidates for the purple, on the death of Pertinax. His fate, if we had no further information, may be told from the fact that Severus

VOL. XII.

E

reigned, after vanquishing his rivals. The portrait on this coin is laureated and bearded; the nose long and prominent, but not aquiline. The legend bears the names of *Niger* and *Justus*; and the reverse has the figure of *Fortune*, with her attributes, and the legend *NIKOMH. Γ. ΝΕΩ.* (*of the people of Nicomedia, thrice Neocoroi*). There is a countermark on the reverse, but its device is obliterated. There are no Latin medals of him. A Gold one existed in the French cabinet prior to the robbery, with the inscription *PATER. PATRIAE*. He was called *Niger*, from the blackness of his hair, or sun-burnt face. Struck probably at Antioch (see a note of Capt. Smyth, p. 177).

X.—The tenth coin is of Severus. *L. SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG.* The bust of the emperor is laureated, and bare to the shoulders. His beard, with which he is invariably represented, is of a marked character, and appears to be arranged and curled with great care. The reverse represents Severus standing, laureated, in military attire, holding in his right hand a figure of victory, and in his left, the hastapura; while a galeated figure, also in a military habit, standing behind him, holding a hasta, places a garland upon his head. This group is particularly interesting, from the finish of the workmanship and the conservation of the coin, for we see the countenance of Severus most plainly in the first figure; and we also perceive that he holds the hasta-pura, and not a spear. The device is characteristic enough on the money of one who delighted in war, and who, in promptitude and vigour, was not inferior to the most celebrated generals of antiquity. Legend *PM. TRP. XVIII. COS. III. PP.*

J. LEE.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.



## IV.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO  
ENQUIRE INTO THE CONSTITUTION, MANAGE-  
MENT, AND EXPENSE OF THE ROYAL MINT.

A.D. 1848.

---

*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

1. WE, Your Majesty's Commissioners, appointed by Your Majesty's Royal Commission to "inquire into and report upon the constitution, management. and expense of the Royal Mint, and "to suggest such alterations as may appear to us to be required to "insure the economical and satisfactory execution of the duties "belonging to that establishment," humbly report to Your Majesty as follows:—

2. In obedience to Your Majesty's commands, we have devoted our best attention to the subjects submitted to our consideration.

3. We have availed ourselves of the evidence taken before a Select Committee of the Commons' House of Parliament, appointed in the year 1837, "To inquire into the establishment of "the Royal Mint, and the system under which the fabrication and "delivery of the coin are conducted," which Committee, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, separated before the inquiry was completed, and consequently without making any final Report.

4. We were furnished by the Assistant Secretary of Your Majesty's Treasury with a statement appended to this Report, showing the result of his experience of the present constitution and management of the Mint.

5. We have had access to the books and documents relating to the subjects of this inquiry, which exist in the offices of the Treasury and of the Mint, as well as to all information which it appeared desirable to obtain from other departments of Government, and from the Bank of England.

6. We have obtained from the various depositories of the public records, including the British Museum, information of great

interest and importance concerning the constitution, management, and expense of the Mint in past times, the substance of which is embodied in a separate statement prepared by our Secretary.

7. We have also taken the personal evidence of many parties, particularly those connected with the Mint establishment, the minutes of which are subjoined.

8. We have found ready access, through Mr. Morrison, the Deputy-Master, to all sources of information at his disposal, which has been further elucidated by his own long experience in the administration of the Mint. The salaried officers of the Mint, generally, have been desirous of facilitating our investigations; and we have received from Mr. Barton, the Comptroller, whose position gives him much insight into the mode of conducting the various departments of the Mint, observations of considerable utility.

9. Another separate statement prepared by one of our members, exhibits in a detailed form the present state of the constitution, management, and expense of the Mint, as ascertained from the information before us, together with notices of the defects calling for correction, and of various specific alterations which might tend to insure a more satisfactory discharge of the functions of the establishment.

10. A third statement prepared by another of our members, who has had much experience in Mint arrangements, contains observations on the various methods of organizing coining establishments, and a detailed exposition of the regulations under which he believes that the duties of the Royal Mint could be most advantageously conducted.

11. To these separate statements, and to the evidence on which they are founded, we beg leave to refer for particular information on all the subjects of our inquiry, the more general and important results of which we now proceed to state for Your Majesty's consideration.

12. The most peculiar feature in the present constitution of the Royal Mint, distinguishing it from all other departments of the public service, is the position of the Melter, and of the company of Moneyers, by whom nearly all the mechanical operations of the coinage are performed.



13 It is not that of officers acting wholly in the interest of the Crown, neither are they, though acting in their own interest, ordinary mercantile contractors; but they hold a kind of intermediate place, being *officially* intrusted with these operations, and *commercially* paid for executing them.

14. The Melter's appointment to his charge is founded solely on his formal agreement with the Master, which, though indefinite in term, is revocable at three months' notice.

15. The position of the Moneyers is of a much more remarkable nature. They are not appointed by any public authority, but form a body continued by self-election, assuming to possess legal corporate rights, and claiming, in this character, the exclusive privilege of executing that part of the coinage-work customarily confided to them; which, they insist, cannot, without a violation of their prescriptive rights, be intrusted to other hands. They also act under an agreement voidable at three months' notice, but they consider this as determining only the rates and conditions of payment for their work, not as affecting their alleged title to the sole execution of it.

16. This claim involved consequences demanding our earliest and most assiduous attention, for it appeared to us that, if the exclusive right insisted on could be substantiated, no change in the operative system would be practicable without the concurrence of the claimants. A very brief examination, however, sufficed to show, that the melting and coining charges are, of all the Mint expenses, those most in excess; and it was thence evident that the parties profiting by them must have an interest in resisting any *economical* change; and it was equally manifest that it would be difficult, if not impossible, consistently with the public interest, to uphold this contract system in any form, however modified. To satisfy ourselves with regard to the validity of the moneyers' pretensions, a task which unavoidably occupied much time and personal labour, was therefore a requisite preliminary to all other useful progress.

17. The researches connected with this question, which extend from the earliest known records of the coinage to the last important revision of the Mint establishment in the year 1815, have served to throw much light on the successive alterations in the system of mintage during this long period.

18. It is not necessary here to recapitulate these changes, which are fully and distinctly described in the separate statement already referred to ; but the result, as far as concerns the particular object of our inquiry, has been to convince us, that the Moneyers' claim of exclusive right rests on no more substantial ground than ancient usage, no charter or other written record of its concession having been produced by them, or otherwise discovered to exist ; that it cannot be shown that they existed as a distinct united body earlier than the middle of the 16th century ; that their pretensions to be a separate corporation, with legal rights, are supported neither by proof nor probability ; and that, if the abolition of their long exercised privilege of exclusive employment in the work of the coinage should even give them a title to pecuniary compensation for the loss of its advantages, they have in no way established their right to its perpetual continuance,

19. Concurrently with this part of the inquiry, we entered into a careful and minute examination of the present constitution, management, and expense of the Royal Mint, and of the apparent defects of system or of practice brought to our notice by this investigation, the general results of which may be concisely stated as follows :—

20. The constitution of the Mint, in regard to its personal establishment, is composed of three principal branches, the general government, the operative, and the "check" department, under one or other of which the duties of the various subordinate members necessarily place them.

21. The exact theory of this organization is nowhere to be found on record ; but it is marked out by the general tenor of the "Master's Indenture," the sole written authority by which the Mint is constituted, and is in close accordance with the practical working of the system.

22. The general government is vested in the Master and his Deputy, assisted by the Mint Board. The appointment of Master having, however, for many years past been held with another office, he has usually taken little part in the management ; and the Deputy Master, as his representative, is consequently the real executive head of the establishment.

23. The Board of principal officers is conjoined in the superintendence, but has no independent powers apart from him, nor are



those, which it can or ought to exercise with him, defined with any precision. Its authority is chiefly exerted in ordering prosecutions for offences against the coinage laws: in regulating the internal arrangements, or what may be termed the *police* of the Mint: in sanctioning certain minor heads of expense; and in engaging any extraordinary assistance needed in the working departments. Some of its attributes, as described in the indenture, such as the impressment of workmen, and the discretionary punishment of the moneyers, if refractory, are obsolete powers exercised by the Master and the principal officers in former times, but wholly inapplicable to present circumstances; and none of those possessed by it are at all necessary to the good government of an establishment so purely executive, and consequently so little calling for the exercise of deliberative functions.

24. One of the most marked defects in the constitution of the Mint is the absence of any undivided controlling authority, capable of acting with the vigour and promptitude peculiarly required in an establishment of which the responsibility, however great in amount, is limited in its compass, and, unlike that of the great revenue departments, which extends over the ramifications of a widely spread administration, connected with all the trading interests of the country, is restricted to the details of a single and definite object, confined to a particular locality, and having neither influence nor relations beyond the walls of the Mint.

25. The occupation of the *operative* branch is that of fabricating coin of standard weight and fineness, and of certain prescribed forms and denominations, from the bullion introduced, or, according to the official term, "imported" into the Mint for the purpose of coinage.

26. Formerly the Master and worker was an interested, as well as responsible, agent in this work, deriving the larger portion of his emolument from fixed rates per pound weight, out of which he defrayed, at his own risk, all the expenses of manufacture.

27. Latterly this uncertain profit has been commuted for a fixed salary; his practical intervention in any part of the work has wholly ceased; and although his responsibility still subsists, he is left with only a nominal control over the parties by whom the work is performed, the order of whose duties is as follows:—

28. The Master's Assayer, an officer paid partly by salary and

partly by fees, determines the fineness and consequently the value of the gold and silver bullion "imported," and directs the proper combination of the ingots for producing standard bullion when melted.

29. The Melter and Refiner converts the bullion thus prepared into bars of standard fineness and of the proper form and dimensions for the subsequent operations of coinage. He is nominally the Master's first clerk, but receives no salary, and performs no duties in that capacity. His responsibility and his emolument are wholly determined by formal agreements with the Master, and by the amount of work executed in conformity with these written obligations, which leave him at liberty to carry on, also in the Mint, the operations of refining and melting on his personal account.

30. The privilege thus allowed appears to us particularly objectionable in regard to the refining process, which cannot, like that of melting, be carried on under the constant supervision of a "check" officer, but must be left to the refiner's own discretionary management, and unavoidably leads to a mixture of the precious metal belonging to the Mint, with that under the operation of refining on his own account. His sole obligation is to return such quantity of fine gold or silver, respectively, as the metal delivered to him may be computed to contain, according to the assay previously made of it; and it hence becomes impossible to ascertain that the property confided to him on the public account is not made in some measure available as capital for carrying on his private business.

31. The Company of Moneyers, consisting at present of the provost and four other members, besides two apprentices, execute all the work of converting the bullion, as received from the melter, into coin. Their work is open to inspection during its progress, and is held liable to be finally rejected if not properly executed; but there is no intervention in their operative proceedings beyond this ultimate check. They account for the whole of the bullion delivered to them, against all risk, and it accordingly remains in their sole custody during the progress of the work.

32. Their responsibility and emoluments are, like those of the melter, determined by the conditions of a formal written agree-



ment; but when the yearly value of the coinage falls short of 500,000*l.*, each member of the Company is entitled to an allowance of 40*l.*, under a Treasury Order, dated 24th March, 1743, which assigns as the motive for this allowance, "that they may not be "too far exposed to temptation by their necessities."

33. Although they assert a privileged and exclusive right, and acknowledge a reciprocal obligation to perform the work for which they thus contract, yet when called upon by the Master of the Mint in his official capacity, and required by us, as Your Majesty's Commissioners, to submit their books to our inspection, they refused to produce that containing the general account of their receipts and disbursements, called by them their "Cash Book." They had previously produced certain other books and documents, some of general record, others of account, relating to their functions in the Mint; but from such cursory inspection of them as it was possible to make in the presence of one of their body, and from subsequent explanation, it was found that these books and documents did not furnish any satisfactory information respecting their working expenses or losses, this being obtainable only from the "Cash Book." Their attention being then drawn to the fact, that no conclusion could be formed respecting the fairness of their contract, if the particulars of their working expenses and loss by waste were not disclosed, they still persisted in withholding this book, and insisted that their statement of their expenses and profits, consisting of gross sums wholly unexplained, should be received without other proof of its correctness than their own allegation.

34. It appears that they also possess, in their alleged corporate capacity, both freehold and personal property. They consider this property as "private," and deny the right of the Government to call for any information respecting it; and although they have communicated some circumstances of its nature and amount, they are insufficient to show the extent of the profits derivable from it, which can only be ascertained by reference to the "Cash Book" already mentioned, in which, as stated by them, all their money transactions, including the periodical division of their profits of every kind, are recorded. When asked to declare the amount received by each moneyer on this division for a specified period, the reply of the Provost was, "I cannot tell you, for I keep no

"private accounts. I have kept no private accounts since I have "been a moneyer;" and the senior moneyer replied to a similar question, referring to the year 1847, that he knew neither what the Provost might have received, nor what he had himself received in that year, although he admitted that he had kept the accounts of the Company since 1840, and had most likely assisted in making the distribution for the year 1847.

35. The Company is continued by electing new members from among the apprentices, each of whom pays 1000*l.* as an apprentice fee, and serves at least seven years before he can be elected a moneyer; but it is provided by the present indenture, that no new apprentice can be taken without the previous written sanction of the Master of the Mint, a condition which appears to have been insisted on by the Treasury since the early part of the last century.

36. The Chief Engraver, an officer paid for his services by a fixed salary, but with the liberty of continuing the private exercise of his profession, designs and executes the dies requisite for the impression of the various coins authorised to be struck.

37. The Superintendent of Machinery, a salaried officer, first appointed in 1816, who combines with this office that of Clerk of the Irons, has the general charge of the machinery and apparatus, and superintends some part of the work of preparing the dies for use.

38. The irregular and discordant character of the arrangements for the work of the coinage is sufficiently manifest from this description of them. The Master, retaining the title, and even the responsibility of "*Chief Worker* of the Mint," is divested of the functions and control specially belonging to this designation, without being enabled to act efficiently as a general superintending head of the establishment. The greater part of the operative duties devolves on parties nominally subordinate, but practically independent, who discharge them, not as executive officers of the Government, but in the capacity of contractors with specific obligations and liabilities. The remuneration to which these entitle them is both arbitrary in rate and unlimited in amount, for, although the prices stipulated purport to be the result of previous bargain, they cannot, if the moneyer's pretensions are submitted to, be regulated by competition, while the



work is so little of the nature of ordinary employment, that they can scarcely even be subjected to comparison, the experienced result is, that they are determined by precedent.

39. It accordingly appears that, while the commercial prices of melting gold and silver bullion have been reduced within the last 20 years in the proportion of a third, the melter's rates are still the same as were fixed in the year 1815.

40. The prices of the moneyers' contract have, in like manner, continued without change from the year 1770; and although a charge has since been imposed on them of part of the working expenses of the new machinery, introduced when the Mint was rebuilt, by which their previous manual labour was superseded, and their operations were of course proportionately facilitated, it forms only a small per centage on the average amount of their receipts.

41. At these respective rates, the joint amount of the clear profits admitted to have been made on the two contracts in a single year, that of 1843, exceeds 30,000*l*.

42. The "check" department comprises offices partly of great antiquity, but in part also, of comparatively recent origin, the order of whose functions is as follows:—

43. The Comptroller exercises a general supervision over the whole of the Mint accountability, both operative and financial, extending in some degree to every transaction which involves responsibility for either money or bullion. His power of control, is, however, of a negative character, as he can neither reverse nor stop, by his authority, any proceeding which he may deem improper, although he may withhold his requisite concurrence, or may resist it as a member of the Mint Board.

44. The Queen's Assay Master's functions of control are less comprehensive than those of the Comptroller, being chiefly directed to the chemical examination of the metal composing the coin, both during the progress of fabrication and after completion; but his power of intervention is greater, as it enables him to direct the re-combination and re-melting of any bullion which he may find to deviate from the standard of fineness. His office is accordingly the most effective check on all the proceedings of the operative departments, and is the principal guarantee for the integrity of the coin put in circulation; and

although of great antiquity as well as importance, the definite and unvarying nature of its object exempts it in a great measure from the need of revision.

45. The Queen's Clerk exercises a restraining authority of the same kind as that of the Comptroller, but of more limited extent.

46. The surveyors of the meltings and of the money-presses respectively attend the operations of the melter and of the moneyers, and exercise some specific powers of control over their proceedings.

47. The Clerk of the Irons, whose appointment is united with that of Superintendent of Machinery, is the officer whose duty it is to check any surreptitious or irregular use of the dies, both when in use for the coinage and when in progress of manufacture or repair, and is responsible for the safe custody of them when not in use.

48. The most important defect in the "check" branch, considered with relation to the security which it affords, is the want of sufficient precision in the regulations by which its proceedings are directed, and of proper connexion between the several members of which it is composed.

49. With relation, however, to the general system of the Mint constitution, it seems to be misplaced. Excepting the peculiar duties of the Queen's Assay Master, all the controlling powers above described truly belong to the chief superintending authority in the establishment. They were properly ascribed to co-ordinate officers, when the master had a personal interest in the transactions subject to control; but, placed in the hands of officers now deemed subordinate to him, when he has ceased to be an object of reasonable jealousy, and ought to be himself the chief official check on the integrity of others, they manifestly stand in an inverted order.

50. The constitution thus described presents to view anomalies and contradictions of the most remarkable kind. The ostensible head of the department is designated by a title, the proper functions of which he does not exercise; he is held bound, nevertheless, by the responsibilities belonging to the title, while enjoined to delegate the functions, and permitted to transfer the primary obligations to other parties; and he is subject, as respects these responsibilities, to the control of officers who are at the same time



deemed subordinate to him. The executive establishment is split into sections, which act independently the one of the other, and almost independently of any superior authority. They exercise their functions on different principles; and receive their remuneration from different sources, and in different forms. And one of them, arrogating to itself a close monopoly of its particular employment, nevertheless, denies to the employer, by withholding necessary information, the means of equitably regulating the terms of remuneration, though his right to decide upon them cannot be disputed. And, finally, a deliberative governing body is solely occupied in controlling executive details, for which collectively, its members have no responsibility, and of which, individually, they have no direct knowledge.

51. These inconsistencies may, in part, be inseparable from the circumstances with which they are connected; but there can be no doubt that they chiefly arise from the partial and unsystematic nature of the successive modifications which the Mint constitution has undergone; and we are persuaded that they can be thoroughly remedied in no other way than by an entire reconstruction of the system on uniform principles adapted to present circumstances, and to the general progress of improvement in manufacturing science.

52. The defects observable in the administrative management of the Mint are such as must naturally ensue from those of its constitution, and more especially of its government. Occasional want of dispatch in cases of emergency, impediments serving to delay or defeat arrangements conducive to the public interest and convenience, disagreements of the different sections of the establishment with each other or with the Government, and other incidental failures in the well-working of the system, have been brought under our notice in the course of this investigation; but they are attributable to an imperfect system rather than to the mode in which it has been administered. We do not therefore deem it necessary to bring them under particular notice, as the measures calculated to prevent the recurrence of similar embarrassments will be comprehended in the general reformatory arrangements about to be submitted.

53. The subject of expense is the next to be considered.

54. The sums payable in annual salaries, or weekly wages, to

the persons composing the permanent establishment, constitute nearly the only part of the Mint expenditure not subject to much variation in amount, the total of which, as estimated for the present year, is 13,393*l.* 5*s.*

55. All the other charges, a few of the incidental expenses excepted, are subject to great fluctuation, being dependent on the variable extent of the work of coinage, and can therefore be accurately stated only on an average of very long periods.

56. Owing, however, to the mode of keeping the Mint accounts previously to the year 1837, when it was finally brought to its present system, this average cannot be conveniently obtained for a longer period than the last 11 years, during which it has been, under all the different heads of expenditure, as follows, viz:—

Salaries and wages . . . . .	£13,833
Coinage charges (being the amount of contract rates payable to the melter and the moneyers) . . . . .	22,051
Ordinary incidental expenses . . . . .	6,552
Extraordinary charges . . . . .	1,602
	<hr/>
	44,038
Law charges . . . . .	8,662
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	£52,700
	<hr/>

57. The amount of permanent salaries and wages, though large, does not appear to be, in the aggregate, greater than is needful for the maintenance of an efficient and trustworthy establishment on the principles applicable to the public service, which do not admit, like analogous private institutions, of postponing considerations of security to those of economy.

58. The ordinary incidental expenses, and the extraordinary or more casual charges are so intimately connected with the circumstances of the work carried on, that it would be impossible to investigate the propriety of them, without going into all the details of the operative proceedings out of which they arise, which the present mode of classifying the expenditure would not admit of doing; and as they are charges which must always exist, it depends far more on the vigilance and discretion of a



superintending head, than on the strictness of any after-enquiry, to keep them within due bounds.

59. The coinage charges, or rates payable by contract to the melter and the moneyers, and the law charges, or costs of prosecuting offenders against the coinage laws, are those in which it appears that the greatest saving can be effected.

60. The vague and arbitrary mode of determining the contract rates has already been noticed, and the result is conformable to the expectations which the system naturally led us to entertain.

61. It is shown by statements furnished by the present melter, that in the twenty years during which he has held the contract, from 1828 to 1847 inclusive, his gross receipts have amounted to

£76,751 0 3

His working expenses and losses to 27,100 12 4

And his net profits to £49,650 7 11

whence it appears, that his profits have amounted on an average to 2482*l.* per annum, exclusive of any which may have arisen from melting or refining for other purposes than coinage. The rates on which this amount of profit has arisen resulted, nevertheless, from a reduction of no less than a third made on those which existed previously to the year 1815.

62. In like manner, the payments made to the moneyers in the 32 years, from 1816 to 1847 inclusive, appear from their own statements to have amounted to

£634,303 2 4

Their working expenses and losses in

which they include income-tax, to 293,544 15 9

And their net profits to £340,758 6 7

whence it appears that their profits have amounted on an average to 10,648*l.* per annum, their own statement, moreover, showing that, during the last six years of this period, they have been no less than 105,187*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*, or 17,531*l.* per annum.

63. These facts need little comment; and it will be seen in the statements to be subjoined, that the salaries of the officers required to perform the same services which are now executed by the melters and moneyers in consideration of their profits, are estimated at only about a third of the sum to which these amount.

64. Having thus described the progress of our enquiry into

the constitution, management, and expense of the Mint, with relation to all its objects except the prosecution of offences against the laws concerning the fabrication and issue of base coin, which we think it better to reserve for separate observation, we now proceed to state the principal conclusions and recommendations which we are induced to adopt, and to submit for your Majesty's gracious consideration.

65. We are accordingly of opinion—

1. That the constitution of the Mint, as it now exists, is unsuited to the present state of the public administrative system, is ill adapted to promote the efficient or economical management of the establishment, and ought therefore to be replaced by a new organization.

2. That the superintendence of the establishment should be intrusted to a permanent officer exempt from all other charge or duty, who should be personally responsible for the conduct of the business of the Mint in all its branches.

3. That the execution by contract of any part of the work appertaining to coinage should cease in every form and degree, and that measures should accordingly be taken for replacing the services of the present contracting parties by those of competent officers, acting wholly in the public interest, and unconditionally subject to the controlling authority of the head of the establishment.

4. That all persons belonging to the establishment, of whatever grade, should be remunerated solely by fixed salaries or other definite allowances, proportionate in amount to their respective duties and responsibility, and exempt from official fees on their appointments; and that none should be allowed to have any kind of dealing in bullion, or to engage in any other employment of profit, the Assay Masters, the Chief Engraver, and the Medallist only excepted, under such regulations as will prevent their private occupation from interfering with the performance of their public duties.

5. That the appointment to all offices and employments in the Mint should be made by the Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury; and that the responsible head of the establishment for the time being should be empowered to suspend, subject to their Lordship's enquiry into the case,



any officer or other person with whose conduct or efficiency he may have cause to be dissatisfied.

6. That the dwelling-houses and apartments in the Mint should be appropriated to those officers and other persons whose residence on the spot is deemed most conducive to the public security and convenience; and that constant residence unless when specially exempted, should be a condition of this privilege.

7. That all gold and silver bullion received into the Mint, and the coin produced from it, should be secured (when in deposit in the strongholds) under three different keys, held by three different officers, and be daily replaced in the strongholds, in their presence, at the termination of work; and that no officer or workman engaged in the operative processes of the coinage should leave the place of his employment, during the hours in which the strongholds remain open, without the express permission of the head of the establishment.

8. That no gold or silver bullion should, in any state or form, or on any pretext, be received into or carried out of the Mint, without being publicly weighed, and regularly recorded in the Bullion Office; and that every officer, to whose custody any bullion may be intrusted, should be held accountable for the whole weight delivered to him, subject only to an allowance for such loss as may be shown to have unavoidably arisen in the process of manufacture, under the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury.

9. That the books of record and accounts of the Mint transactions should be kept and rendered on the same general principles as at present, but with such additions and emendations in form as may be found conducive to the greatest possible exactness and perspicuity of detail; and that this duty should be distinctly assigned to a duly qualified accountant, acting under the immediate direction of the head of the establishment.

10. That the document called the "Master's Indenture," hitherto serving as the chief authoritative regulation for the government of the Mint, should be replaced by a more precise and systematic code of regulations, sanctioned by the

Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury, under the authority of an Act of the Legislature.

11. That the proceeding called the "Trial of the Pyx," for determining the sufficiency in weight and fineness of the coins issued from the Mint, should take place at least once in every year, and oftener when the coinage may be of such amount as to render it expedient; that the verdict of the pyx jury should explicitly declare whether the assay shows an *exact* conformity with the "trial plate," or only an approximation to it within the limits of the legal remedy; and that in the latter case, it should state, as nearly as possible, the precise extent of the difference, in the same manner as it at present states that of the weight.

66. In accordance with these general conclusions, we beg leave to call attention to a fully digested plan for the re-constitution and future management of the Royal Mint, contained in the statement subjoined to this Report.

67. The details of this plan, being mainly founded on the results of the long practical experience of one of our number, as director of an important coining establishment in another part of Your Majesty's dominions, are not presented by us as the result of our united deliberations. The general principles of the plan are, however, in entire conformity with our views; and although the subordinate rules deduced from them may be open to further consideration, we believe that its effect will be to diminish considerably the average annual expense of the establishment as compared with that of the period elapsed since 1816; to place the department in a favourable position for adopting all improvements conducive to the perfection of the coin, or to the cheapness and efficiency of the processes of fabrication; and thus to insure the most economical and satisfactory execution of the duties belonging to it, which the circumstances under which they are to be performed render attainable.

---

68. We next proceed to state the results of our enquiry into the constitution of that branch of the establishment distinguished as the Solicitor's Department, and into the expenditure incurred under its management. This may, from its nature, be considered rather as an expense of general police, than as one directly apper-



taining to the fabrication of coin: but, at any rate, it is so entirely distinct in all its circumstances, that we have thought it advisable to avoid blending the consideration of it with that of expenditure of other kinds.

69. The prosecution of offenders against the laws relating to the coin is confided—

In England to the Solicitor of the Mint.

In Scotland to the Lord Advocate, on behalf of the Crown.

In Ireland to the Crown solicitors for the respective counties and cities.

70. The total amount of fixed annual payments to the Solicitor of the Mint, and his appointed assistants, is 1660*l.* viz.:—

To the Solicitor . . . . .	£800
To the First Assistant . . . . .	300
To the Second Assistant . . . . .	200
To the Inspector of Coins for the London District . . . . .	60
To the Solicitor for a clerk, office-rent, and other official expenses . . . . .	200
Extra clerk . . . . .	100
Total . . . . .	£1660

71. The Solicitors to the Mint have never attended examinations before the magistrates, nor on any trial at the quarter sessions or assizes; and the present Solicitor states that when he was appointed he knew nothing of criminal business.

72. The First Assistant now attends the Central Criminal Court. He formerly, but only occasionally, attended the trials in the country.

73. The Second Assistant either attends examinations before magistrates, or receives copies of the depositions, and suggests what further evidence is necessary; and, except in a case of difficulty, when he consults the Solicitor, he directs the prosecution to proceed. He attends all trials for felony, and some for misdemeanor, at the quarter sessions or assizes, except in those instances in which a local agent is employed.

74. The principal part of the labour of prosecuting offenders devolves on the second assistant, whose salary is small; but he

derives additional emoluments from the allowances, when he is out of London on Mint business, of 1s. a-mile for travelling expenses, and of 21s. a-day for subsistence, which exceed the actual outlay. He also receives 21s. for every case in which he is examined as a witness, and in consequence, the greater the number of prosecutions, the higher are his emoluments; and although we would not take upon us to assume that it has influenced him to institute proceedings, it appears to have produced this effect on some of the 100 or more of the local Agents who are employed in the country.

75. The sanction of the Mint Board is required for every prosecution instituted by the Solicitor; but, although a list of the cases is laid before them, it appears that no investigation of the case takes place on the part of those who sanction the proceeding, and in point of fact, the submission to the Board is a mere matter of form.

76. The cases for prosecution are submitted to the Attorney-General, by whom the counsel to be employed are appointed. Except in boroughs, cities, or peculiar jurisdictions, where one counsel only is employed, two counsel receive briefs in every prosecution, whether for felony or misdemeanor.

77. In a case of felony, the leading counsel is paid five guineas, and the junior three guineas. In a case of misdemeanor, the leading counsel is paid three guineas, and the junior two guineas. If the counsel thus retained are otherwise engaged, they do not attend the Court, which we believe to be of frequent occurrence.

Large sums are from time to time advanced by way of imprest to the Solicitor, to defray the expenses of prosecutions. An account current is furnished by him previously to each advance, to show in what way sums previously advanced to him have been applied. No vouchers are then produced, but quarterly accounts, accompanied by vouchers, are regularly furnished, and are rendered to the Audit Office with the Master's General Account.

79. Our attention has been specially given to the increase in the number of prosecutions, and to the heavy expenses thereby incurred; but it appears that the effect which might have been expected in the prevention of offences has not been produced.

80. The expenses of Mint prosecutions, which in 1786 were only 1325*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, amounted in 1816 to 3850*l.* 11*s.*, in 1843



to 11,077*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, and in 1847 to 8077*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* The total amount for the last six years, from 1842 to 1847 inclusive, is 53,241*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, or, on an average, 8873*l.* per annum.

81. The number of persons prosecuted in the same six years was—

For Felony . . . . .	418
For misdemeanor . . . . .	1772
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	2190
	<hr/>

82. The number apprehended in the same period, but not committed for trial, was 4682.

83. The expenses incurred in prosecuting 418 cases of felony are stated to have amounted to 15,386*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and those in 1772 cases of misdemeanor to 32,865*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; in all, 48,252*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*; but 162 of the felony cases being for uttering false coin, after previous conviction of the same offence, and costing 7007*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the whole expenses incurred in prosecuting the offence of uttering during the six years in question have been at least 39,872*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*, or more than four-fifths of the whole amount.

84. It is therefore in the prosecution of the minor offence, that of uttering, that the greatest expense is incurred; and a much greater number of witnesses being usually required to prove that offence than the higher one of making the base coin, the inconvenience to parties concerned is also proportionally greater.

85. Under the present system there is great difficulty in inducing parties to come forward and give evidence, as they would rather submit to the loss they may have sustained by bad money, than attend repeatedly before the magistrate, and then at the quarter sessions or assizes. A large proportion of those persons, who are known to be guilty of the minor offence, are in consequence not informed against; more than two-thirds of those apprehended are not committed for trial; and thus, in a vast majority of cases, the offender escapes, and by his impunity is himself encouraged, and encourages others, to persevere in the course.

86. It appears from the evidence of Mr. E. J. Powell, that the

parties engaged in uttering base coin are of the lowest grade. Many of them, but for this occupation, would, under the vagrant laws, be considered as rogues and vagabonds, having no visible means of subsistence.

87. We are aware that great facilities have of late years been afforded in the manufacture of counterfeit coin, by the improved system and more general knowledge of the art of forming plaster-moulds, and by the simple apparatus with which the coins are cast, and covered with electrotpe silver, when compared with the cumbrous machinery of presses and dies.

88. With reference to the facts derived from the evidence of Mr. Blunt, the solicitor, of Mr. E. J. Powell, the second assistant solicitor, and of Mr. Freshfield, the solicitor to the Bank of England, and to other information which we have obtained, we are of opinion,—

1. That both the solicitor and his assistants should be liberally remunerated for their services, but that no allowance exceeding the actual outlay should be made for travelling expenses, or for subsistence; and that no payment should be made to any officer of the Mint for giving evidence.

2. That whatever indulgence may, under existing circumstances, be continued to the present solicitor, with respect to the personal and active performance of his duties, future solicitors should be required to give their individual attention to every case brought before a magistrate, and their attendance in court on every important prosecution for felony.

3. That although the present first assistant, who has been 47 years in the service, may be allowed to confine his attention to trials in the metropolis, if two assistants are hereafter required, there should be no limitation as to the place of attendance, unless the chief officer of the Mint shall sanction the employment of a local agent; but that such an agent should be employed only under circumstances of peculiar necessity.

4. That the practice of paying counsel who do not attend the trial should in every case be discontinued.

5. That the solicitor should submit every case, after the offender has been examined before a magistrate, to the chief officer of the Mint, to receive his instructions with respect to the prosecution.



6. That considering the great importance of protecting the public, and particularly the poorer classes, from the extensive manufacture of base coin, we do not recommend any relaxation in the efforts of the solicitor of the Mint to detect and prosecute the parties engaged in the operation; but the facts above stated warrant the belief, that there would be a great diminution of expense, and a more effectual prevention of the offence of *uttering*, if the offenders could be punished by a summary conviction at the petty sessions, instead of being sent to be tried at the quarter sessions or assizes; for, although the severity of the punishment for a first or second offence might be thus diminished, the certainty of detection and of punishment would be much greater, and persons would be more effectually deterred from the commission of the minor offence, than under the present operation of the law.

89. Having been also instructed by the Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury, by the letter of their Lordship's Secretary, dated 28th of April, 1848. "To consider whether it " would be advisable to make any change in the existing arrange-  
" ments for the care of the standard weights and measures, or in  
" those for ascertaining the conformity of the gold and silver  
" plate with the prescribed standard, and to include any obser-  
" vations we may have to offer on these subjects in our present  
" Report," we beg leave further to report as follows:—

90. We find, from the evidence given by the Right Hon. the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer before the select Committee of the House of Commons on Miscellaneous Expenditure, that the standard weights and measures are at present deposited in the Office of the Exchequer, in charge of a distinct department of that office, and that his Lordship has suggested the transfer of this deposit and charge to the Royal Mint as a measure of possible expediency.

91. The superintendent of this department in the Exchequer has furnished us with a detailed statement of his duties, from which it appears that they consist in comparing with the standards the weights and measures sent into the office to be verified; in

preparing and registering the indentures of verification; in receiving and accounting for the fees payable for the act of verification; in conducting the correspondence arising out of these duties; and in the safe custody of the standards of the troy weights used at the periodical trials of the pyx. It further appears that, although the business of the department is less onerous than had been anticipated, it is variable and uncertain with respect to the periods of its occurrence.

92. Although some of the Mint officers may, from the nature of their occupation, possess more than ordinary skill in the comparison of weights, their experience is almost exclusively confined to the smaller and more delicate transactions which concern the precious metals, and extends in no degree to the comparison of measures, either of length or of capacity, and would therefore be very partially available in the performance of the duties in question.

93. In point of situation also, the Mint offers no particular convenience for casual business of this nature.

94. The objection to the proposal which has the greatest force, however, is the risk attendant on throwing the Mint open to the transaction of any business besides that which is necessarily connected with its direct object—the fabrication and issue of coin. The access of strangers within its precincts can never be free from hazard; and any duties which might require attention at the same time with a pressure of the work of coinage must either be liable to be delayed, or must interfere with the proper functions of the establishment, and impair the constant vigilance indispensably necessary to its security.

95. Respecting the measures for ascertaining the conformity with the standard of gold and silver manufactured articles, we have taken the personal evidence of one of the wardens, of the clerk, and of the deputy warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, and have also obtained from the Deputy-Master of the Mint, and the Queen's Assay Master, a detailed statement of their proceedings in regard to the Birmingham and Sheffield "Diets," the whole of which is appended to this Report, and will be found to afford very clear and minute information on the subject.

96. From this it appears that the assaying of gold and silver plate, with a view to the prevention and detection of fraud, requires,



in addition to a thorough knowledge of the art of assaying, such a minute acquaintance with the process of manufacturing plate as can only be acquired in a regular apprenticeship to the gold and silversmiths' trade; that not only have all the assayers and workmen employed at Goldsmiths' Hall been working silversmiths, but the Company always includes among the members of its Court many men of high character and independence similarly qualified, who, being personally acquainted with the details of the manufacture, oversee and direct the proceedings of the Assay Department; that the site of their Hall is so peculiarly adapted to the convenience of the working silversmiths, who chiefly live in its vicinity, that this consideration decided the Company in retaining the present site when the Hall was rebuilt; that the removal of the Assay Office to the Royal Mint would therefore cause serious risk and embarrassment to the trade; and that the Company derives no revenue from the privilege which it exercises, the fee charged to the manufacturer being less than the full amount allowed by the law under which it is taken, and the surplus beyond the necessary and moderate expenses of the Assay Office being applied to those of the prosecution of offenders, which seems to have been very efficiently conducted.

97. In addition to these apparently conclusive reasons for not disturbing the present arrangement, as far as regards the Goldsmiths' Company in London, we find that the transfer of the Plate Assay Office to the Mint would be incompatible with the convenience and security of the proper work of the establishment, unless arrangements were made for separating it entirely from the other departments, which could not be effected without considerable expense.

98. The duty performed by the Mint officers, with reference to the Birmingham and Sheffield "Diets," is that of a pyx assay, analogous to the Exchequer trial of the pyx of coins, and is conducted under the express provisions of a local Act of Parliament, applying to those places, where the assaying and stamping of the manufactured articles appears to be carried on nearly in the same manner as by the Goldsmiths' Company in London. The manufacture of plate in other parts of the kingdom is of comparatively limited extent, and is subject only to local regulations, in which the Mint bears no part.

99. After full consideration of all the preceding circumstances, as well as of others of minor importance brought to notice in the evidence, we are of opinion that it would not be expedient to transfer to the Mint either the charge of the standard weights and measures, or of the duty of stamping gold and silver plate.

100. We, nevertheless, think that any kind of incidental duty, free from the objections to which both these are liable, might with great advantage, be assigned to the establishment, which, though unavoidably subject to alterations of great pressure and comparative want of occupation, must be kept in a state of constant efficiency for its maximum amount of employment. The duty imposed should, however, be only such as can, without inconvenience, be laid aside and resumed at pleasure, and such also as does not render necessary an indiscriminate admission of strangers within the walls of the Mint.

101. All which is humbly submitted for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed)

R. L. SHIEL.

WILLIAM COTTON.

EDW. PINE COFFIN.

W. N. FORBES.



## MISCELLANEA.

## THE ROBBERY AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT, MAY 9.—NEW COURT.—TIMOLEON VLASTO, aged twenty-four, *described in the calendar as a labourer*, was indicted for stealing 266 coins, valued at £500, the property of the trustees of the British Museum.

The prisoner, a gentlemanly-looking man, is by birth a Greek, and of good family, and seemed but imperfectly acquainted with the English language. Upon the various indictments being read over, he pleaded "Guilty." There was also a further charge against him for stealing 71 coins, valued at £150, the property of Charles Richard Fox, in his dwelling-house. To this indictment the prisoner also pleaded "Guilty."

Mr. Clarkson, who appeared on behalf of the prisoner, applied to the Court to defer passing sentence until the next day, when he (the learned counsel) *would call witnesses to show his highly respectable position in society, and also that he had not possessed himself of the coins for the purpose of either selling or raising money on them*; and, but that he (the learned counsel), thought the Court would ridicule the idea, he should say that *the act was that of a monomaniac*, and had arisen out of the prisoner's passion for collecting coins, there being in his possession a great number of other valuable coins besides those stolen, and which could be proved to be the prisoner's own property.

Mr. Bodkin, who appeared for the prosecution, said he had no opposition to offer to the application, and wished the Court to understand that the prosecution had been fairly got up. *It was the Court who felt at a loss how to proceed.* They had but one duty to perform; and although the prisoner was a young man of good family, he must be dealt with by the Court as all others were.

After some further conversation, the Common-Serjeant said that he should postpone passing sentence until a future day of the Session.

[We call the attention of our readers to the passages in italics, reserving for the present our own comments. Sentence has since been pronounced on this man; namely, transportation for seven years. Great interest, it is reported, will be made to procure a mitigation of his punishment.—Ed.]

## THE WHADDON CHASE FIND.

SATURDAY, MAY 9, MAGISTRATES' CHAMBER, AYLESBURY.\*

[*Before J. T. Senior, Esq., and the Rev. C. E. Gray.*]

GEORGE TOOLEY, of Aylesbury, watch-maker, remanded from Wednesday last, on a charge of having feloniously received 130 ancient gold coins, recently found in Whaddon Chase, knowing them to have been stolen, appeared this day to answer further to the charge, having, in the meantime, been out on bail.

Mr. Charles Appleyard, solicitor, appeared for the prosecution; Mr. Prendergast, the barrister, was present on behalf of Mr. Tooley.

Mr. D. P. King, coroner of the Winslow district, produced the inquisition taken by him as coroner, on the 24th of March, which found that Mr. S. Lowndes, as lord of the Manor of Whaddon, was the legal owner of treasure trove within the Chase of Whaddon. The document, which was read by Mr. Baynes, was signed by the coroner and the jury.

Mr. Appleyard, the solicitor, produced some of the coins, which had been sealed up in a small parcel by him after the examination.

Mr. Prendergast asked the coroner if those were produced before him?

Mr. King said, he believed they were; but of course could not swear to them.

Montague Samuel, assistant to Messrs. Spielman and Co., of Lombard-street, London, was then sworn, and his previous deposition read over.

By Mr. Prendergast.—Speaking with a dealer's eye, those are coins of just the same character.

The witness's further evidence having been read to the end, he produced, in reply to a question of Mr. Appleyard, a memorandum on paper (a receipt), which Mr. Prendergast having examined, pronounced to be a scheme, by the wording, to avoid the stamp-duties, and therefore apprehended that document would not be taken at all.

---

\* We derive the following from a report in the *Bucks' Herald*. The particulars will amuse our readers, while the sophistry of the learned counsel for the defendant will shew the uninitiated how the law may sometimes be handled for the protection of the offender. In making this remark, we by no means attempt to deny that the law relating to Treasure Trove calls for revision. All we maintain is, that as a part of the law of the land, the ignorant should be taught to respect it. A report of a case of this kind will be found in the *Numismatic Journal*, Vol. II., p. 248.



By Mr. Baynes.—I saw Mr. Tooley write that name (G. Egeleson) at the bottom.

By Mr. Prendergast.—He (Mr. Tooley) told me he lived at Aylesbury.

By Mr. Appleyard.—I produce those two pieces of gold (doing so); they were cut off one of the coins sold by Mr. Tooley. Mr. Spielman has sold the remainder of the coin.

By Mr. Prendergast.—I cut off those pieces myself before I had it assayed. Did not assay it myself. I took it to Mr. Richards, an assayer. It is half gold, about a quarter silver, and two ounces out of the twelve are copper. I know that by the assayer only. If I took it into my hand and looked at it, I should believe it to be partly copper. It is not pure gold. We have coins of all sorts and of all countries brought to us, and we buy them and sell them. Do not think them stolen, because they are coins.

By Mr. Appleyard (handing a coin).—Should say that is partly copper—it is not pure gold. I should not know whether it is partly silver or partly copper. All I should know is, that it is not all gold.

By Mr. Prendergast.—By copper we understand alloy. I spoke of the proportion by the assayer's report. I cannot tell of my own judgment whether it is copper or silver—I only know that it is not pure gold—because it looks a different colour—it is more yellow; it looks lighter (in colour) than pure gold. If it were pure gold it would be a darker colour; it would weigh heavier, and have different other appearances. I can tell there is gold in it by trying it with nitric-acid.

Mr. Selby Lowndes sworn.

Mr. Baynes read the previous deposition, by which it appeared that Mr. Lowndes had received 350 of the coins, which had been found at Whaddon. Mr. Prendergast congratulated Mr. Lowndes on the honesty of his tenantry, which had put him in possession of so many of them.

In reply to a question, Mr. Lowndes said he had paid nothing yet for getting them. This witness was not further examined.

Mr. J. L. Fletcher, sworn, examined by Mr. Appleyard.—I was present when some of these coins were found, in Whaddon Chase, in the occupation of Grange, in Little Horwood parish. I found a few of the coins myself—perhaps ten. Saw some found by other persons. I was there the whole of Monday morning, after they were discovered on the Wednesday. I saw about 100 found by others. Those I found myself, I took to the Hall, where I was staying, and gave them to Mr. Lowndes in the evening. All that were found by Mr. Lowndes' men, I believe went to him.

By Mr. Prendergast.—They were his people ploughing the field when they were first found. The coins were in the dirt.

All that were found which I saw, were dug out by tools. They broke the ground to pieces with a spade. I did not see any found without digging for. The coins were picked up singly, within a space of ground of about two yards square.

J. Shephard, sworn, examined by Mr. Appleyard.—I am in the service of Mr. Lowndes. I was directed by him to go and search for these coins. I did search the ground. I may have picked up fifty myself. I saw coins found at the time. About 200 were handed to me. Monday, the 5th of March, was the first day I was there. I was there from that Monday to the following Saturday week every day. The coins I spoke of were found during that period. I gave the coins to Mrs. Lowndes.

By Mr. Prendergast.—It is a clay soil. One coin was found, and then sometime after another was found. I have upon two or three occasions, known as many as two or three found together, and I have seen upon one occasion half a dozen picked up within half an inch of each other. When you pulled down the soil, you could see the whole six of them at once. That was in one instance. I took possession of them.

By Mr. Appleyard (handing some coins).—I believe those are similar coins to those which I picked up.

Police Sergeant Cornaby, sworn. (The witness's previous deposition was read).

Examined by Mr. Prendergast.—I received information from Mr. Baynes, and directions to make inquiries. I don't know what day that was. I went on the same day.

By Mr. Appleyard.—That was the first time I went to Mr. Tooley. After that I was desired to find, if possible, a person of the name of Egeleston in this town. I think that is about three weeks or a month back, on a Monday. It was about a week after I had first been to Mr. Tooley.

Mr. Charles Appleyard sworn. (This witness's former deposition was likewise read).

By Mr. Prendergast.—I produce the coins which I sealed up after the last examination was concluded. They were taken away by me, and have been in my possession ever since. The seal was broken by the magistrates just now. That bit (of a coin) was produced separately by Mr. Spielman's assistant.

Mr. Appleyard.—I have no further evidence to offer to day.

Mr. Prendergast.—Do you conclude your case?

Mr. Appleyard.—I shall apply for a remand, as I have just now, in court, received a letter speaking of further evidence which I could not get at before. It came to me quite by accident. It must be a lengthened remand.

Mr. Prendergast.—It must be for the magistrates first of all to be satisfied whether there is any ground at all for the charge.



(Looking at the letter handed him by Mr. Appleyard) It is about his disposing of further coins at Birmingham, I see (reading several passages to that effect). Mr. Tooley deals in old coins as you know very well.

Mr. Appleyard.—I don't know that.

Mr. Prendergast.—I do not exactly know you see, at present, how you shape your case. What is the charge made?

Mr. Appleyard.—We have made our charge.

Mr. Prendergast.—Well, what is it? What do you conceive it to be.

Mr. Baynes read the information.

Mr. Prendergast then addressed the magistrates for the defence, designating the evidence to support such a charge as that, as non-sense. Mr. Lowndes had been fortunate enough to find on his grounds some gold coins, and fortunate enough to persuade a jury of his own tenants that he had a right to them. He had been fortunate enough to get 350 of these gold coins, fortunate because when his ancestor bought that land, he did not know he had those 350 gold coins upon it. He (Mr. Prendergast), should have thought they had belonged to the people who found them—however, Mr. Lowndes had them. Those he had got and those he might keep—that was, if the finders brought no action against him. Well, Mr. Tooley, of Aylesbury, had some gold coins. They were very like those of Mr. Lowndes. A jury had vested all the coins that were found in Mr. Lowndes, but were those coins a portion of the coins found on his property? No one ever pretended that they were. The only circumstance which got Mr. Tooley into the difficulty was, that he went to London, and was foolish enough to give the name of “Egeleston,” instead of his own. Mr. Prendergast then endeavoured to prove from Blackstone, that, as hiding a treasure in the earth gave the property to the king, but that if it were simply abandoned, the property was given to the finder, the coins did not belong to Mr. Lowndes until after the verdict of the jury at the inquisition held before the coroner, which decided that the coins were the property of the lord of the Manor. Any one who had stolen them, *after* the verdict of the jury had given that right to him, said the learned counsel, there was no doubt would have taken a portion of Mr. Lowndes's property: and all the evidence showed that all the property found on that spot was given to Mr. Lowndes. Mr. Prendergast referred to the difficulty which existed in all parts of the country to extinguish the inveterate notion that all things found in the earth must belong to the finder. Where property was found in that manner, it was almost impossible to secure it. The coins in question could not be told, on merely looking at them, to have been picked up in Whaddon Chase. Cunobelin was a British King,

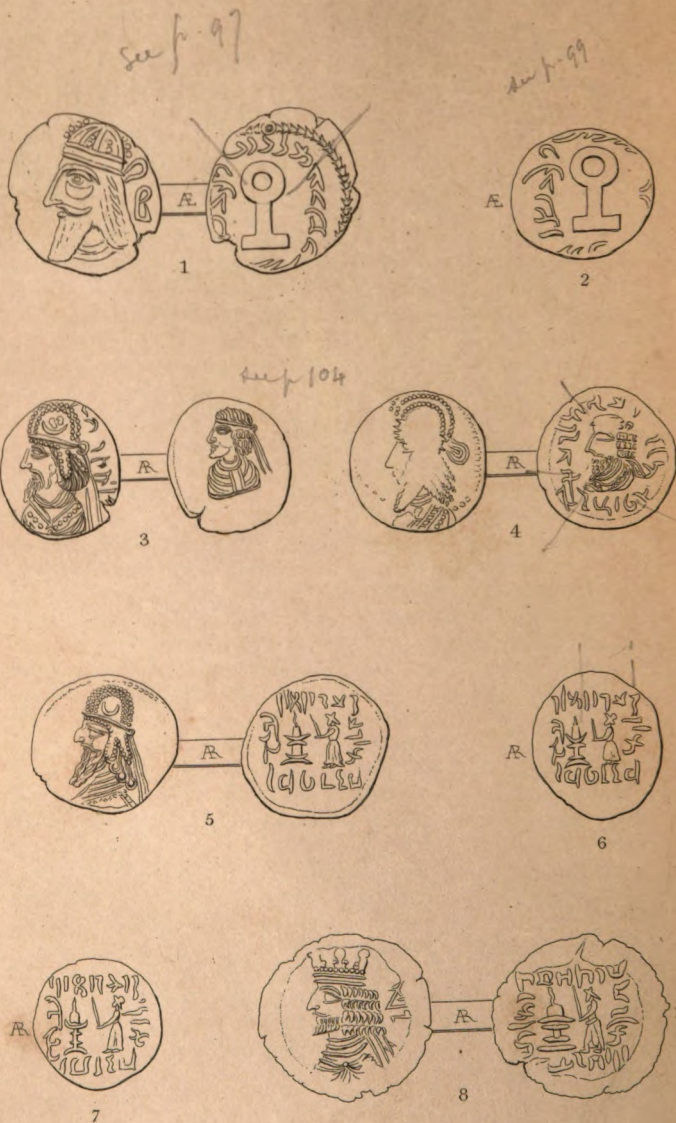
and his coins might be found in one part of his kingdom as well as in another. They were not peculiarly the growth of Whaddon Chase. The Magistrates would therefore inquire, first, in whom was that property vested which Mr. Tooley was selling, and if they found that the jury had not passed that property as the property of Mr. Lowndes, the charge had not been made out. That property had not come before the jury in any way, and therefore did not vest in Mr. Lowndes. There was another point—property that was not found put altogether as if hidden in the ground, did not really vest in the Lord of the Manor, and therefore the verdict of the Jury would not vest it in the Lord of the Manor. Now, some of those coins were found together; but most of them were found separated. If the property were not put there it would not pass to the Lord of the Manor. It had been shown that the coins were found singly, and only in one instance were six or seven found together. The question was, whether the property of those coins sold by Mr. Tooley in London vested in the Lord of the Manor of Whaddon. In regard to him, there was no proof whatever that they were ever found in Whaddon Chase at all—they might have been found in any other country in England, quite as well as in Whaddon Chase—they were quite as likely to be found in one part of the island as in another. He saw that Blackstone stated, that concealing treasure trove was an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment; however the charge was made against Mr. Tooley was the only one that he had to meet there. That was a charge of concealing stolen goods, and the goods were not proved to have been Mr. Lowndes' property in any way—therefore, no felony had been committed. The fact of Mr. Tooley having given a wrong name would have been important, if the offence had been committed; if the property had been proved to have been stolen; but as they could not affirm it was stolen property before it had been proved that it was so stolen, the misconduct of giving a false name was immaterial under the circumstances.

At the conclusion of Mr. Prendergast's ingenious address, the magistrates retired to consult together for about a quarter of an hour. On their return—

Mr. Senior said, that it appeared to the bench that the ownership of the coins had not been satisfactorily made out. As Mr. Tooley lived in the town, should anything occur to render such a course necessary, he could easily be got at. In the meantime the case was dismissed.







J. Basire, del. et sc.

IMPERIAL ARSACIDAN AND PARTHO-PERSIAN COINS.



12/12/17



ST. MENEHOULD.

M.B.  
HENRY V<sup>TH</sup>



CHARLES VI<sup>TH</sup>

TOURNAI.



EMBRUN.

TREVOUX.



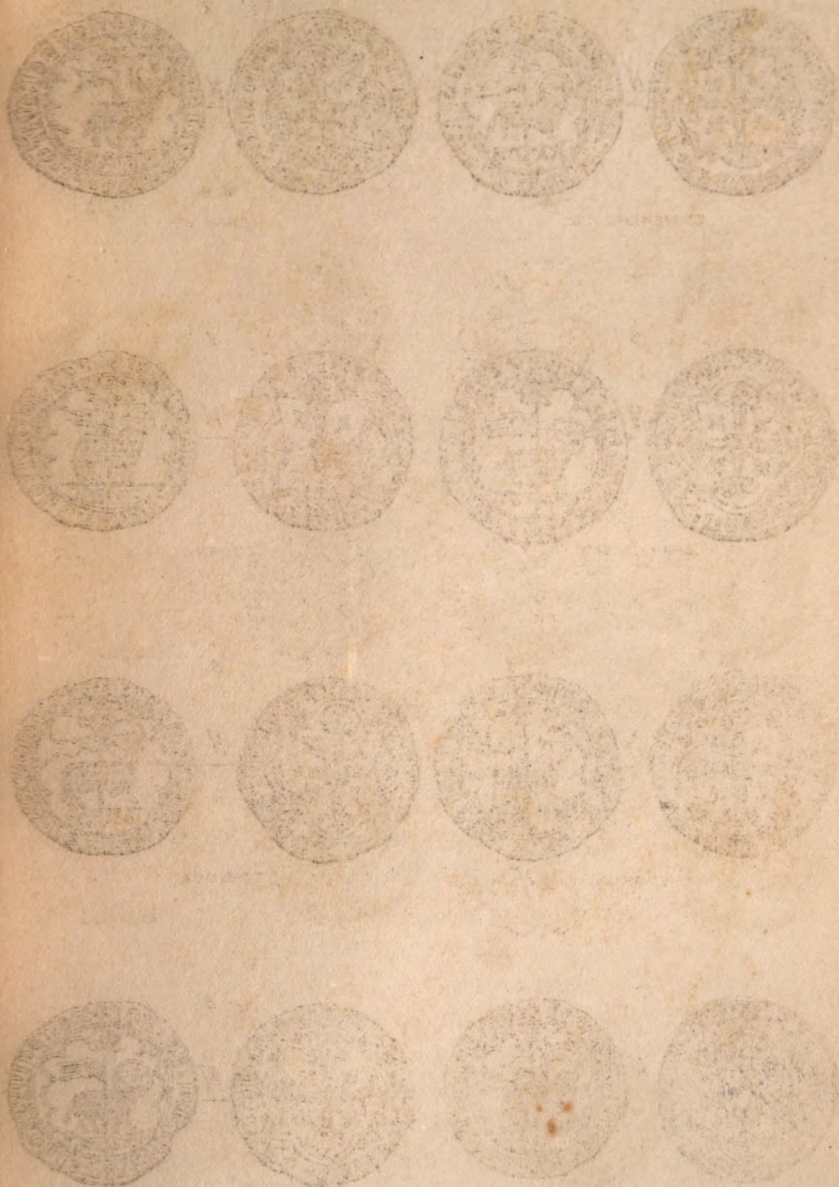
MT. ST. MICHEL.

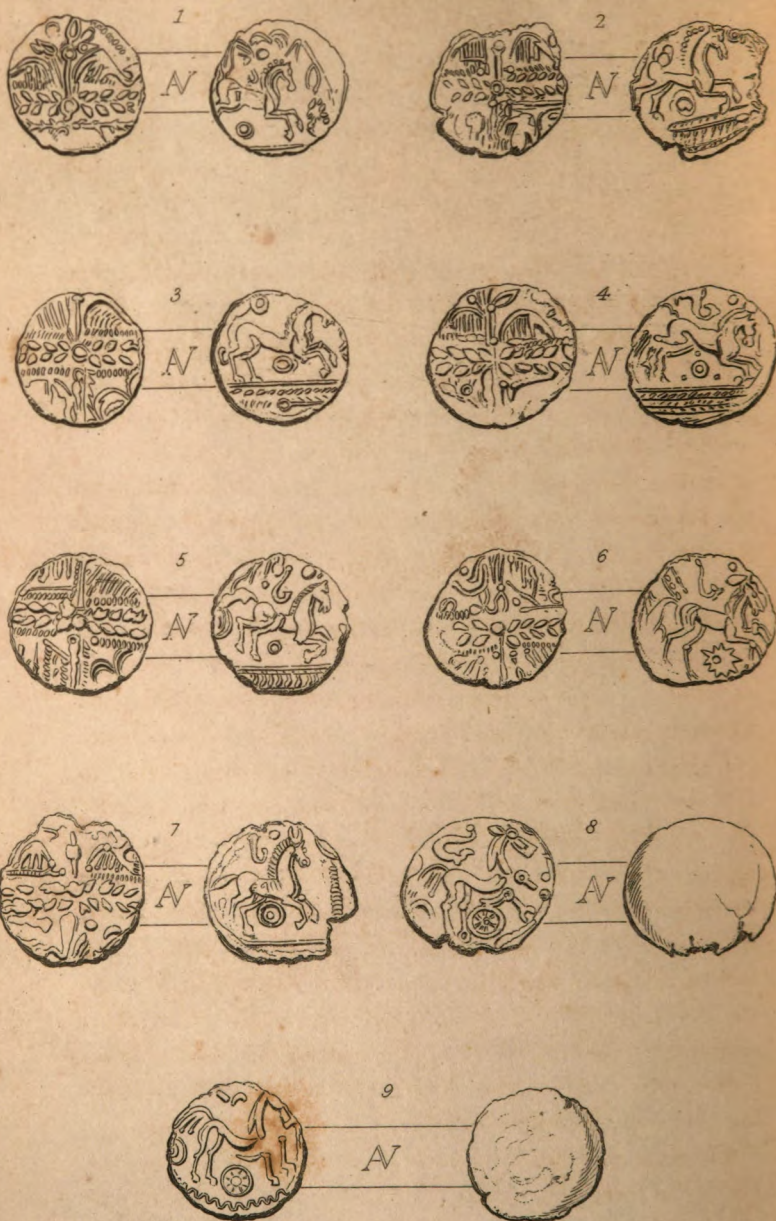
HENRY V<sup>TH</sup>  
ROUEN.

H.A. Ogg.

MOUTONS D'OR.







ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Found in Whaddon Chase.

H.A. Ogg



## ON THE HALF-CROWNS OF CHARLES I., OF UNCERTAIN MINTS.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, November 23rd, 1848.)

It is well known that among the numerous varieties of Half-crowns struck by King Charles I., there are many of which the places of mintage have not been satisfactorily determined. Those struck at the mint in the Tower of London are easily recognised, from the general style of work, as well as from the mint-marks, and the dress of the king; which fix their date, for the most part, to a period anterior to the rupture between Charles and his Parliament. Other specimens are in like manner readily assignable to mints established in different provincial towns, in some instances, as Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Oxford, and York, because they bear the first letters of the name of the place of mintage; in others, because they have for mint-marks the well-known symbols or arms of towns at which mints were temporarily established, as at Aberystwith and Worcester. But in addition to all these varieties, there remain a large number, the origin of which it is exceedingly difficult to identify, and to which it is not easy even to assign a locality on any plausible grounds. Some of these pieces bear a letter under the figure of the king, which in one instance is repeated on the reverse, and which may reasonably be concluded to be the initial of the place of mintage. Specimens exist which respectively bear the letters A, B, and W; but nothing better than conjecture has yet been furnished for identifying the localities intended to be designated by these letters.

In numerous other cases, even this slight clue to the history of these pieces fails; and the only means of forming

VOL XII.

I

a conjecture as to their origin, must be derived from a comparison of a large number of varieties, and from the mint-marks, dates, accessory symbols, and style of work to be found upon them.

Two remarkable, though not unpublished specimens of this kind are laid upon your table this evening, which, considered in connection with other varieties, may perhaps furnish some approximation to the locality of their origin. One is a half-crown from the cabinet of Mr. Cuff, which has been engraved in Mr. Hawkins' Plates, No. 502. It bears the letters SA: under the figure of the king. The other is from my own collection, the type No. 503 of Hawkins. The reverses of the two coins are different, but the obverses are in all respects similar, except that on my coin, in place of the letters SA, there is a large ball under the horse. The latter symbol has hitherto been unexplained; but on a comparison of the two coins, it appears that the obverses are both from the same die, and that the ball has been produced merely by the effacing of those letters from the die. On a close examination of the coin, the point of the horizontal stroke at the bottom of the right side of the A, may be seen protruding from the ball, which has not been quite large enough completely to obliterate the letter, and the two dots which follow the SA on the one coin, may also be discerned on the other. In the Museum collection, there is a specimen of this coin, on which the dots are much more perceptible than on my specimen, though it is in other respects much inferior. I can offer no better conjecture as to the motive for a mutilated or cancelled die being thus brought into use, than that the letters had been obliterated with a view to the die being altered to serve for another local mint, and that on a sudden emergency, pieces were stamped from it in its damaged state. But at all events,



we may dismiss the notion that the ball is to be considered as a symbol of any distinct place of mintage.

In the Museum collection there is a specimen of the half-crown with SA, the obverse of which appears to be from the same die as Mr. Cuff's specimen, though, as it is clipped down to the inner circle, and what remains of it is not in very good condition, it is not easy to decide upon this point with certainty. The reverse is undoubtedly different. The Museum also possesses another half-crown, the reverse of which is from the same die as Mr. Cuff's, but with a different obverse, resembling the class of half-crowns of which some have the letter W under the horse, with a square-topped shield on the reverse, and others have an oval shield with a garniture something like drapery.

A consideration of these varieties of type in connection with each other, will perhaps afford an approximation to their localities of origin. With the evidence of the coins struck at Bristol, Oxford, Exeter, York, and Chester before us, it is scarcely possible to suppose but that the letters SA, indicate the place at which the coin which bears them was struck; and it is difficult to appropriate it to any other place than Salisbury, though in this case we get no corroboration from the mint-marks or symbols on the coin, which are a *lis* on the obverse, and a helmet on the reverse.

Shrewsbury (*Salopia*), is the only other place to which this coin could well be attributed. The king was at Shrewsbury in September, 1642, and Rushworth states that he established a mint there. No coins have yet been discovered, which can with any certainty be assigned to this mint; but admitting the fact to be so, the probability is that they would have been struck by persons from the mint of Aberystwith, which about that time was transferred to Oxford; and that they would have borne a resemblance to

the known coins of one or other of those mints. It is indeed improbable that any of the coins of rude work and uncertain type were struck at so early a date.

In confirmation of this theory, I may adduce a shilling of Charles I., formerly in my possession, but now in the British Museum, the obverse of which is very like that of the Aberystwith shillings; but the reverse is of the declaration type, and dated 1642. It forms a link between the pieces of the usual Aberystwith type and the earliest of those which bear the Oxford or declaration type.

In September 1644, the king proceeded from Plymouth with the intention of marching upon London, and on the 14th of October reached Salisbury. On his arrival there, he altered his plans, and instead of going forward to London, he turned off towards Oxford, and then proceeded to Wallingford. It is stated that throughout this march he was in great straits for money, and it seems most probable that during its course the different varieties above mentioned were struck. That they were struck in or near 1644 is undeniable, because the British Museum possesses a specimen of the type having W under the horse, with the reverse of the declaration type, and the date 1644.

If therefore we connect the various types in the following order, I think it may be inferred with something approaching to certainty, that tradition is correct in assigning the whole of them to the west of England.

1. Mr. Cuff's coin with SA.—rude imitation of lion's skin garniture to shield. (Hawkins, No. 502.)

That with ball instead of SA.—on this is a rude imitation of lion's paws in the garniture of the shield. (Hawkins, No. 503.)

On these coins the tail of the horse is brought back between the hind legs.



2. The Museum coin with the same *reverse* as Mr. Cuff's : but the *obverse* like that of those half-crowns with W, which have on *reverse* a square-topped shield, without any indication of lion's skin (i. e. *Obv.* : Hawkins, No. 501 ; *Rev.* : No. 502).
3. Coins which have the *obverse* like the last, but the *reverse* with an oval shield, and garniture something like drapery, (i. e. *Obv.* Hawkins, No. 501 ; *Rev.* No. 500.)
4. Coins with *reverse* like the last, but with a different figure of the king, which appears to have been copied from the Bristol half-crowns, or from the earlier 1643 half-crowns of the declaration type. (Hawkins, No. 500.)
5. The coins with *Obv.* like that of class 2, with the addition of W under the horse. *Rev.* a shield with square top, and no lion's skin. (Hawkins, No. 501.)
6. A coin with *obverse* as the last, but *reverse* of declaration type, dated 1644.
7. Besides the above, there is an intermediate type (Hawkins, No. 506), on which the horse resembles that on classes 2 and 3, but he stands upon a line, the exergue below which is filled up by slanting lines. The shield on the *reverse* is like that on the half-crown with the ball. The legend of the *reverse* is FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA, as on the gold coins of Charles I.

The arrangement of types which I have thus made, is not intended as their chronological order. On the contrary, I consider it most probable that No. 4 is the earliest in point of date ; but it is suggested as furnishing a chain of connection by which a large class of coins, which it seems impossible to separate by any wide interval of time or place, may be proved to have originated in the west of England ; and it would embrace all the varieties from No. 5, to No. 20, in Mr. Hawkins' list of half-crowns of uncertain mintage (with the exception of Nos. 14 and 15, which seem of different family), together with some others acquired by the Museum since the publication of his work.

It is possible that after the die of the half-crown with SA : had been altered by the obliteration of the letters, with a

view (as I suppose), to its being adapted for a coinage at some other place between Salisbury and London, it became useless in consequence of the king's change of plan in proceeding to Oxford, where there was already a mint in operation.

I would also suggest that the half-crowns with W under the horse, may have been struck at Wallingford, where the king went soon after his return to Oxford. The obverse of that type being found in company with a declaration type reverse bearing the date 1644, it is fair to presume that the respective localities of the two coins could not be far apart.

J. B. BERGNE.

---

VI.

UNPUBLISHED EXETER HALF-CROWNS OF  
CHARLES I.

(Read before the Numismatic Society, February 22nd, 1849.)

THERE is a very beautiful and rare half-crown of Charles I. well known to collectors of English coins, on which the king appears mounted on horseback, with his face turned nearly to the front, holding a truncheon in his right hand, the horse curvetting amidst a heap of arms. The date 1642 occurs on the reverse, in a small compartment at the bottom of the shield of arms. Mint mark a rose, of the peculiar form seen only on the coins of the Exeter mint, from which circumstance this half-crown has been generally attributed to the mint of that city, and is so appropriated by Ruding and Hawkins.

It has, however, not unfrequently been doubted whether the coin in question, notwithstanding the identity of mint-mark with the acknowledged Exeter coins, really proceeded from that mint, for the following reasons. It entirely differs in workmanship from the coins which are certainly known



to be of the Exeter mint: it is of peculiarly neat execution, and appears to have been in all cases well spread and struck up, points in which the acknowledged Exeter coins are singularly deficient; and above all, the date is earlier by two years than the first date which appears on the coins known to have been struck at Exeter. Several of the varieties of those coins are not dated at all, but such of them as are, bear the dates of 1644 and 1645.

Whatever doubt may have existed as to the appropriation of this coin, is now removed by two specimens in the British Museum. The obverse of each of these is similar to that of the coin above described. They differ in reverse both from it, and from each other; but the respective reverses are identical with the reverses of two well known varieties of the half-crowns which are indubitably of Exeter mintage.

No. 1. *Obv.*—as above.

*Rev.*—Oval shield garnished like that on the crowns of the Tower mint with bell, crown, and anchor mint-marks. Mint-mark, a rose. At the end of the legend the date 1644. (See Hawkins' plates, No. 489, and No. 6 of his list of Exeter half-crowns, page 173.)

No. 2. *Obv.*—as above.

*Rev.*—similar to No. 1, but mint-mark Castle instead of Rose, and date 1645. (Ruding, plate 25, No. 5. No. 8 of Hawkins' list of Exeter half-crowns.)

Both these varieties of the truncheon half-crown (as it is called) are unpublished, and probably unique. The first was purchased by the British Museum from the Thomas Collection, lot 714. Mr. Thomas obtained it at the sale of an anonymous collection at Sotheby's, in 1820. The other formed part of a cabinet of coins presented to the Museum a year or two back by the Earl of Ellesmere. That collection contained, besides this coin, some ten or a dozen pieces

of much curiosity and interest, of which the Museum did not possess examples ; but the great bulk were mere duplicates and triplicates of coins already in the Museum cabinets, though in many instances of rarity and value. As there seems no possible utility in one establishment hoarding up several identical copies either of a medal or a book, the Museum would, I think, have done well to decline the acceptance of these superfluous pieces, unless it be the intention of the Trustees hereafter to form public cabinets elsewhere.

J. B. BERGNE.

## VII.

### DISCOVERY OF COINS OF CONSTANTINE, ETC., OF THE LONDON MINT.

IN the year 1818 or 1819, a labourer, in ploughing a field in the immediate neighbourhood of Marlborough-forest, in Wiltshire, turned up a quantity (about 300) of small brass Roman coins, which had been enclosed in an earthen vessel. I believe the great bulk of the lot was soon disposed of to various individuals, each of whom, of course, as he applied had his pick. A few weeks after the occurrence, I procured from the man the whole of the coins which he had then remaining, in number 21.

They are in very good preservation, and become the more interesting, from the fact, that apparently, the majority of them must have been the issue of the London mint.

Of the 21 which I obtained, and which I now present for the inspection of the Society, 12 have PLON in exergue, 5 PLN, 1 PLC, 1 PLCC, 1 STR, 1 STRE. They are of Constantine the Great, Crispus, and Constantine, Jun. It is much to be regretted that an examination of the whole by a competent person did not take place, it being extremely likely that nearly all of them were struck in London,



considering that the small number last in the man's possession, contained so large a proportion with **PLON** and **PLN** in exergue.

Coins of this period are daily discovered in this country, and often in large quantities; but I do not know of any find on record where the London mint mark bears so large a proportion to the whole; indeed, it is well known that coins of this description are scarce, and it rarely happens that more than two or three are to be found in any discovery.

The following are the different types:—

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

No. 1. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left, **CONSTANTINVS**, **AVG**.

*Rev.*—Victory with trophy and palm branch, trampling on an enemy. **SARMATIA**, **DEVICTA**. Exergue, **PLON**.

No. 2. *Obv.*—Laureated head to right; bust in armour, right hand supporting a sceptre surmounted with an eagle. **CONSTANTINVS**, **AVG**.

*Rev.*—Altar, inscribed **VOTIS XX**. upon which rests a globe; above, three stars. In field, **P. A BEATA**, **TRANQVILLITAS**. Exergue, **PLON**.

No. 3. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left; bust in armour. **CONSTANTINVS** **AVG**.

*Rev.*—Same as last. Exergue **PLC**. In field **C. R**.

No. 4. *Obv.*—Galeated head to right, with hasta over right shoulder, bust in armour. **IMP. CONSTANTINVS**, **AVG**.

*Rev.*—Two victories supporting a shield, inscribed **VOT. P. R.**, which rests upon an altar. **VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP**. Exergue, **PLN**.

No. 5. *Obv.*—Galeated head to left. **CONSTANTINVS** **MAX. AVG**.

*Rev.*—Same as last.

No. 6. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—Same as last, but with exergue **STR**.

No. 7. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left. **CONSTANTINVS** **AVG**.

*Rev.*—Gate of camp; above, star. **PROVIDENTIAE**, **AVGG**. Exergue **STRE**.

CRISPUS.

No. 1. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left. **IVL. CRISPVS** **NOB. C**.

*Rev.*—**VOT. X** in wreath. **CAESARVM NOSTRO-RVM**. Exergue, **PLONC**.

- No. 2. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—Similar; but exergue, PLCC.
- No. 3. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left; bust in paludamentum.  
FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES.  
*Rev.*—Gate of camp; above, star. PROVIDENTIAE  
CAES. Exergue, PLON.
- No. 4. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left; bust in armour, with shield  
and spear. CRISPVS NOBIL. C.  
*Rev.*—Altar, inscribed VOTIS XX. upon which rests a  
globe; above, three stars. BEAT. TRANQLI-  
TAS (*sic*). Exergue, PLON.
- No. 5. *Obv.*—Galeated head to left; bust in armour. CRISPVS  
NOBIL. C.  
*Rev.*—Two captives sitting on the ground, back to back;  
between them, Labarum, inscribed VOT. XX.  
VIRTVS EXERCIT. Exergue, PLN.
- No. 6. *Obv.*—Laureated head to left; bust in Paludamentum.  
CRISPVS NOB. CAES.  
*Rev.*—Two victories supporting a shield, inscribed VOT.  
P. R. which is resting on an altar. VICTORIAE  
LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Exergue, PLN.  
This coin appears not to be in Banduri.

## CONSTANTINE, JUN.

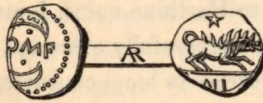
- No. 1. *Obv.*—Galeated head to right; bust in armour. CON-  
STANTINVS IV. AVG.  
*Rev.*—Altar, inscribed VOTIS XX, upon which rests a  
globe; above, three stars. BEAT. TRANQLI-  
TAS (*sic*). Exergue, PLON. There are five of  
this type.
- No. 2. *Obv.*—Radiated head to right; bust in armour. CON-  
STANTINVS IV. AVG.  
*Rev.*—Same as the last, but with F. B. in the field.  
There are two of this type.
- No. 3. *Obv.*—Radiated head to right; bust in armour. CON-  
STANTINVS IVN. NOB. C.  
*Rev.*—Two captives sitting on the ground back to back;  
between them, Labarum, inscribed VOT. XX.  
Exergue, PLN.

HENRY L. TOVEY.

Bermondsey Street,  
Southwark, May, 1849.



## VIII.

UNPUBLISHED ANCIENT BRITISH COIN, FOUND ON  
FARLEY HEATH.

AMONG the various Roman and British Coins, kindly submitted to our inspection by Mr. Tupper, is one in silver, represented above, weighing 15½ grains.

Two circumstances render this coin of great interest to the English Antiquary, although it is neither well struck, nor well preserved; namely, its place of finding, and its type, which is altogether new. There are traces of letters below the animal or monster, on the reverse, while the obverse has the perpetual [C]OMF between two crescents. All we can do is to place this curious piece on record, and wait the chance of future findings. Mr. Tupper informs us that a paved road is now formed across that part of Farley-heath, where most of the relics have been discovered.

ED.

## IX.

## ON THE ORIENTAL LEGENDS ON CERTAIN IMPERIAL ARSACIDAN AND PARTHO-PERSIAN COINS. BY EDWARD THOMAS, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

OF the many essays, disquisitions, memoirs, etc. hitherto published relating to Parthian coins, I am not aware that any single one has successfully extended to the elucidation of the legends expressed in local characters, to be found on some of the varieties of the imperial and certain subordinate suites of provincial pieces issued during the epoch of the Arsacidan dominancy in Persia ; and although, at the present moment, the paucity and imperfection of the accessible numismatic materials in the one case, and the indistinct expression of the inscriptions on the coins, together with the nearly complete absence of the requisite collateral historical illustration in the other, may in a measure limit any very perceptible advance ; yet the general exposition of the available sources of knowledge necessarily comprised in any systematic approach to the subject, cannot fail to prove serviceable to those who may hereafter acquire more numerous and perfect specimens of these classes of medals, and at the same time desire to pursue the investigation.

The progress of the study of the first of the two branches of archæology, to which it is proposed to direct attention, is associated with the names of many eminent men ; though the success attending their labours in this direction can scarcely be said to have been commensurate with many of their discoveries in other departments of antiquarian



research. Dr. Swinton, of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> seems to have been the earliest who has attempted to interpret any of the native legends on the coins of the Arsacidæ. Shortly afterwards, Pellerin, apparently unaware of any previous publication of this nature, engraved an unusually perfect piece of this class;<sup>2</sup> he, however, avoided any endeavour at decyphering, and satisfied himself with a comparison of the more obvious literal similitudes and typical affinities. De Sacy, who, as will presently be shown, is to this day our best and almost sole instructor in ancient Persian alphabets, in noticing Dr. Swinton's proposed readings, showed fully sufficient cause why they should be unconditionally rejected; at the same time, he confessed himself not only incapable of supplying more satisfactory interpretations, but acknowledged his inability to explain the purport of the inscriptions on several specimens of the same coinage which he had an opportunity of examining in the Royal Library at Paris.<sup>3</sup> In 1801, Sir Wm. Ouseley followed, taking up as his groundwork Pellerin's engraving, and testing its legend by the alphabet furnished by De Sacy's reading of the inscriptions at Naksh-i-Rustam: as a result, he arrived at an explanation in which twelve letters out of the entire nineteen are erroneously rendered.<sup>4</sup> To these succeeded Mionnet, who, in undertaking his comprehensive work, felt himself necessitated to notice a few examples of this description of money, but was contented with reproducing—with but faint success—mere facsimiles of the legends, without attempting

<sup>1</sup> Philosophical Trans., vol. xlix. p. 593; pl. xviii. *Read the 8th April*, 1756.

<sup>2</sup> Pellerin, *3me supplément* (1767); pl. i. fig. 13, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> De Sacy, "Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse," pp. 136, 202, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ouseley "Observations on some Medals and Gems," etc. *London*, 1801.

to divine the true forms or values of the letters in which they were couched, or in any way citing or criticising the definitions of previous inquirers.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of the appropriation of the Partho-Persian coins may be said to be as yet untouched: no single word, nor any two consecutive letters, having hitherto been identified on their surfaces,—the total contributions to the illustration of the inquiry consisting of a single engraving in Millingen,<sup>6</sup> and a few facsimiles in Pl. xv. *Ariana Antiqua*.<sup>7</sup> Millingen naturally adventured but few remarks; and Professor Wilson, from whom more was expected, though clearly anxious to elucidate the Palæographic questions involved in the decyphering of the superscriptions on the specimens he quoted, was obliged to confine his remarks to open generalities in reflecting upon the probable origin and affinities of the characters employed.

It is scarcely a justifiable reproach against the majority of these Numismatists, that they did not desert the fertile fields of research within their reach, to reclaim so comparatively barren a waste as that I now essay to cultivate; but had they so willed it, the opportunity was not denied them, inasmuch as De Sacy's "*Mémoire sur les Inscriptions de Nakschi-Roustam*"<sup>8</sup> still forms almost the only

<sup>5</sup> Mionnet, vol. v. p. 686; pl. xxix. figs. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Millingen's *Sylloge* (London, 1838), p. 84; pl. iv. fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 381; pl. xv. figs. 2, 3, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Read before the Académie des Inscriptions in A. D. 1787, and published with other papers in 1793, under the title of *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*. *Paris*. See p. 72, *et seq.*

De Sacy, *suprà cit.*, quotes Chardin, Niebuhr, Lebrun, etc. etc. Remarks or Engravings, more or less bearing on the particular subject, are to be found in Ker Porter. *London*, 1821. Malcolm's *Persia, Lond.* Rich. Babylon, etc.

To those who would follow up this subject, the subjoined classification of the Pehlvi Inscriptions of the Sassanidæ may prove useful:—



groundwork upon which any examination of the subject must be based. It is true we are now in possession of much more trustworthy materials (in absolute casts of certain nearly parallel inscriptions) than were available to the gifted Frenchman, who had to rely solely upon faulty copies made by hands unversed in the correct formation of the letters, and taken under circumstances otherwise sufficiently disadvantageous. With this exception, and a few casual remarks by Major Rawlinson<sup>9</sup> on the compa-

ARTAXERXES I. *Ardeshir Bábek*, 223, A.D.

a. Bilingual Pehlvi Inscription, with Greek translation, explanatory of the sculpture at Naksh-i-Rustam (De Sacy, *Mémoires sur Div. Ant. de la Perse*, p. 62, etc.; pl. xxii. Ker Porter, 548). *Subject*: Artaxerxes receiving the *cydaris* or ancient diadem (K. P. p. 555) from Ormazd after the defeat and death of Ardeván (De Sacy's identification of the figure to the right as Ormazd is proved by the now legible Sassanian Pehlvi).

SAPOR I. *Shápúr*, son of *Ardeshir*. 240, A.D.

a. Bilingual Pehlvi Inscription, with Greek translation, identifying the chief figure in the sculpture (Ker Porter. pl. xxviii. p. 572) at Naksh-i-Rajab, as Sapor I. See De Sacy, *Mémoires*, p. 1, etc. and Rich's *Babylon and Persepolis*, London, 1839, pl. xii.

b. The two Pehlvi Tablets in the cave at Haji-abad, near Naksh-i-Rustam (the record of which is yet to be translated), referring to Sapor, the son of Ardeshir (Ker Porter, pl. xv. p. 513),

SAPOR II. *Shápúr*, son of *Hormuz*; grandson of *Narses*. 310, A.D.

a. Sassanian Pehlvi Inscription near Kermanshah (Ker Porter, *Takt-i-Bostán*, vol. ii. pl. lxviii, p. 188. Malcolm's *Persia*, *Ták-i-Bostán*, vol. i. pl. 3 facing page 258. The contents of the writing merely serve to identify one of the sculptured figures.

SAPOR III. *Shápúr*, son of *Shápúr*; grandson of *Hormuz*. 384, A.D.

a. Sassanian Pehlvi fellow tablet to the last, and in its turn illustrating the identification of the second figure. See De Sacy, p. 211, *et seq.* *Mémoires*. Also, Second *Mémoire* on these Inscriptions, read before the Historical Class of the "Institut" in 1809. Printed in tom. ii. p. 162, *et suivantes*. M. Boré, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1841; and M. Louis Dubeux, *ibidem*, an. 1843.

<sup>9</sup> See his *Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1846), vol. x. Jour. R. Asiatic Soc. pp. 118 *et seq.*

rative Palæography of this (by him named *Parthian*) alphabet, we have, as far as the world at large is yet informed, in nowise advanced in the knowledge of the family and structure of the language itself, or any ascertainment of the chief seat or boundaries of its use.

Before proceeding to notice the legends on the coins, it will be necessary to define the several characters composing the contemporary lapidary alphabet, whereby alone the values of their correspondent numismatic equivalents will have to be determined. In putting forth this literal series, I do not propose to enter into any detailed verification of the powers of the different characters founded upon a philological comparison of the words in which they occur; I have neither the knowledge, the time, nor the inclination necessary to this end; I refer explicitly to my means of information; and such identifications as I am satisfied with, I adopt without further comment. My notes of interrogation—sufficiently frequent—will show where I have reason to doubt; and, as a corrective to my errors, I believe I may hold out a prospect of an early determination of the true powers of the few doubtful Pehlvi Lapidary Letters from the pen of the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>10</sup>

Of the entire alphabet of nineteen letters, up to this

---

<sup>10</sup> In acknowledging my obligations to Mr. Norris, it is difficult for me to define their exact limit; I am not aware of having directly derived the identification of any separate letter from him; and, indeed, Mr. N. *hesitates* in admitting some of my conjectural assignments. To him, however, I am indebted for my first knowledge of the existence of the Plaster Casts of the Inscriptions at Hájí-ábád, without which I should not have trusted the accuracy of a single form; and although I have throughout preferred working independently from original materials, yet I have only to mention the unreserved conversations we have held on these subjects, to show the necessary advantage I must have derived from his varied learning and critical acumen.



time distinguished in the Hájí-ábád Tablet, thirteen<sup>11</sup>—if they were not correctly determined as to the details of their outline—were so sufficiently assigned to their correct places in the orthography of the Legends on the Sculptures of Naksh-i-Rustam and Naksh-i-Rajab, that their reliable correspondents were readily detected in the inscription—the facsimile of which we are able to refer to—at Hájí-ábád, and which proves to be nearly identical with the former, in its opening terms and laudatory prefixes. Most material aid in the verification of the powers of several of the remaining letters was also afforded by De Sacy's more complete decyphrement of the Second, or usually termed Sassanian-Pelhví counterpart of the Naksh-i-Rajab Inscription, which, although in a distinct language, possesses many words in addition to the proper names, nearly identical with those occurring in its associate writing. As a parallel transcript or translation in this tongue expressed in its proper character, also forms the Second Tablet in the Bilingual

<sup>11</sup> The following Hebrew equivalents taken from De Sacy's plate (No. i.), will show the letters he identified, and though there are instances of misapplication of letters, correctly rendered in other places, such as taking I's for R's etc., as in (איראן) *Airan*, instead of (אריאן) *Arian*, etc., these were however due to the imperfection of his materials rather than to any failure of identification.

1. א a. 2. ד d. 3. ה h. 4. ז z. 5. י i. 6. כ k. 7. ל l. 8. מ m.  
9. נ n. 10. פ p. 11. ר r. 12. ש sh. 13. ת t.

His ס in מזדיסן *Mazdisn*, is a *mistake*, the two perpendicular lines in his copy being in fact incorrect drawings of ין the true reading is מזדיין *Mazdizn*, or *Mazdēzn*. So in the Sassanian, I have some doubts whether the corresponding word should not be read מזדיין *Mazdizn* and not מזדיסן *Mazdisn* and that the proper value of the letter ה should therefore be defined by ين in lieu of س I, however, merely suggest this possibility, as I have not yet had time to examine the subject sufficiently to authorise the expression of any decided opinion.

VOL. XII.

L

Monumental Record at Hájí-ábád, a valuable test is herein furnished towards the discrimination of the true phonetic power of the undetermined characters, though in this instance we are debarred the superior help contributed by the Greek translations uniformly appended to the other Pehlvi Inscriptions, which are here wholly wanting; so that the longest, and to us the most accessible, of these Bilingual Pehlvi Inscriptions is comparatively deprived of any extraneous elucidation, and the decyphrement left dependent upon its own double record in two as yet unidentified languages.

With these means at command, there is but little difficulty in discriminating the ordinary letters in at all frequent use, that M. de Sacy's less perfect data previously permitted to escape recognition.

Of these I cite without any hesitation  $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭥}$  B<sup>12</sup> and  $\text{𐭮} = \text{𐭥}$  W, the identification of  $\text{𐭮}$  with  $\text{𐭥}$  (Persian گ) may require a few words of justification. My original hint for the assignment of the value of this letter is derived from a nearly correct reading, but a very dubious determination of the true form of the letter in question, by Major Rawlinson, who has proposed to render the Sassanian Pehlvi word <sup>13</sup>  $\text{𐭮𐭥𐭮}$

<sup>12</sup> How Major Rawlinson came to mistake so entirely the true form of the Parthian B, as to say, that "the Parthian, Sassanian Pehlevi and Zend Alphabets, employ the same character,  $\text{𐭮}$  to express the sonant, labial,"—it is difficult to conceive, but I am led to conclude that Major Rawlinson never saw either the original or any really correct copy of the Haji-abad inscription (see his Memoir p. 289 note †). The  $\text{𐭮}$  W.—has also escaped him; so has the sign discriminating the separate value of  $\text{𐭮}$  as distinguished from  $\text{𐭮}$ —and I object entirely to his appropriation of  $\text{𐭮}$  as *dh*; but on this subject I have to add some further remarks in the proper place.

<sup>13</sup> Memoir, pp. 93, 94, and note 2, also for additional observations on Baga, etc., see p. 187, idem. If any confirmation is required in regard to the identification of the true meaning of the Sassanian word, it may be mentioned that *Bagi* is generally used as the Sassanian Pehlvi translation of the Persepolitan Pehlvi word



which is translated in the inscriptions by the Greek word  $\Theta E O T$ , as Sanskrit *Bhaga*, Zend *Bāgha*, Persian  $\text{ب}$  thus combining the second and third letters into one, and reading this supposed compound as G. I freely accept the philology, but unhesitatingly reject the palæography.<sup>14</sup> And in further proof of the second letter of the above facsimile being a Sassanian Pehlvi  $\text{گ}$  and the letter more immediately in question being in like manner a Persepolitan Pehlvi  $\text{گ}$ , I may quote the correlative words in the fourth line of the double inscription at Hájí-abád; where following the word *Nepi*, in the Sassanian, will be found a repetition of the word  $\text{بگ}$  *Bagí*, represented in the fellow tablet by the term  $\text{بگ}$  *Baga*; the  $\text{گ}$  in the former alphabet may be traced as  $\text{گ}$ <sup>15</sup> (the modern Pehlvi  $\text{گ}$ ) on the Arabico-Sassanian coins, whereon it also supplies the place of the original Sassanian  $\text{ك}$  which is here entirely lost sight of; and the Persepolitan equivalent declares itself sufficiently in the third character in the Oriental name of Vologeses, and elsewhere, on the coins about to be noticed: and to show at the very least the affinity, that a letter so shaped and answering to a G must once have led to certain local forms of the ancient Hebrew character, I may instance the existence of a nearly similarly outlined consonant still in use, as the representative of  $\text{ג}$  *Ghimel*, in the Spanish Levantine modification of the Hebrew Alphabet.<sup>16</sup> The form  $\text{ח}$

$\text{אלהא}$  *Alha* ( $\text{אלה}$  Chald. *Deus*). De Sacy made it  $\text{אהא}$  *Iha*! p.109, Mem.

<sup>14</sup> If any one doubts the actual and complete division of these two letters, I would refer to any decent copy of the many inscriptions in which this word *Bagi* is of constant recurrence. For the rest, it is sufficient for me to cite the casts at the British Museum and Royal Asiatic Society, which, in questions of this kind are nearly as good as the originals themselves.

<sup>15</sup> It occurs in *Yezgird*, *Kermán*, *Abdalmalik*, etc.

<sup>16</sup> See the *Vienna Types*, lately published.

of the Persepolitan Pehlvi occurs but thrice in its full distinctness in the entire inscription, once in the word **خدمت** *Khidmat*, which corresponds with the Sassanian term **ادین** *Adénan*, and again twice over in a combination the true reading of which it is not so easy to decide, but whose constituent elements appear to be reducible to the following Hebrew letters: **החזמות** in the Sassanian text we find the translation in the letters **هنترون** or **هنهترن**. The analogy of the form of the character with the Hebrew **ח** *Kheth*, obviously suggests the possession of a similar phonetic value; and its appearance in the position it holds in the word *Khidmat* seems sufficiently to confirm its claim. I must for the present leave undetermined the appropriation of the letter **ח** which likewise appears but rarely, as there are no available means of deciding if it be merely an imperfect effort at the due expression of **ח**, as the identity of its chief features renders probable, or if it be requisite to accept it as an independent letter. It is with more reluctance that I have to pass by undefined, the powers inherent in the character **ו** which is of frequent occurrence and enters into the composition of a number of words the meaning of which it is highly important to discover. This figure is found often, though not invariably, standing in parallel relation to the Sassanian **𐭬** to which De Sacy has assigned an import of M N.<sup>17</sup> an attribution that has hitherto remained unquestioned; but the advance since made in the decyphering of the associate text of the other Pehlvi record, suggests immediate doubt as to the exactitude of the proposed identification; inasmuch as the corresponding term to the Sassanian **𐭬** upon the

<sup>17</sup> Mémoires, p. 98.



*interpretation of which* word as *Boman*, the value of the concluding letter was assigned—proves to be *ברי* (בר Chaldee *filius*), and leads to the probability, in the frequent verbal analogies of the two languages, associated in the inscriptions, that the Sassanian 2 which is convertible as R and U indifferently, should be rightly read as R rather than O (U).

But there are less problematical reasons why De Sacy's reading of *Boman* should be definitely abandoned as, in Anquetil's "*Leçon*,"<sup>18</sup> *Boman*, whence De Sacy derived his identification, has been shown to be an erroneous reading for *بنمن بنمن* *Banman*<sup>19</sup>, a rendering it is impossible to force upon the Sassanian original—and otherwise it would be sufficiently inadmissible, in the then existing state of the alphabetical development, to insert a vowel between any two letters forming a compound consonant, even if there were not ample means of writing and fully expressing *man* by the usual letters *من* *m n*<sup>20</sup> without having recourse to so decided a violation of the prevailing rules, as would be necessitated by the acceptance of De Sacy's conjectures.

Without laying much stress upon the results it may not be inopportune to indicate cursorily, as introductory to any deliberate philological determination, the inferences which may possibly be drawn from an analysis of the configuration of the two undetermined equivalent characters, as tested by the forms of the proved letters of the alphabets to which they severally belong.

<sup>18</sup> Müller, *Jour Asiatique*, tom. vii (1839), p. 330.

<sup>19</sup> Anquetil *Zend Avesta*. tom. i, part 2, page 306.

<sup>20</sup> *Mān*, or rather *mīn*, is thus written in *منوچتری* and in *من یزدان* in the same inscription.







Hebrew 1	Parapolitan Pahlvi 2	Sassanian Pahlvi 3	Modern Pahlvi 4	Persian (Nasta'liq) 5
א	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا
ב	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	ب
ג	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	گ
ד	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	د
ה	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ه
ו	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	و
ז	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ز
ח	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ح
ט	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	ع
י	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	ی
כ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	ک
ל	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	ل
מ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	م
נ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	ن
ס	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	س
ע	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	ع
פ	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	پ
צ	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	چ
ק	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	ق
ר	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	ر
ש	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ش
ת	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	ت
Doubtful Letters	{	Parapolitan 𐬖	𐬖	𐬖
		Sassanian 𐬗	𐬗	𐬗

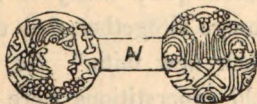
THE ALPHABETS.



## IX.

NOTE ON A GOLD COIN IN THE CABINET  
OF MR. CUFF.

WE have, on several occasions, spoken of *imitated* and *adopted* types, not without a feeling that our meaning has been fully understood by those only who take a general and comprehensive view of Numismatics. The fact is well known to those who are practically acquainted with ancient coins, but there are many who need the assistance of graphic illustration, and this we hope shortly to afford in a proposed view of the gradations of corruption in the different series of ancient and Mediæval coins, but more especially the Gaulish and British. In the mean time we submit to our readers, the representation of a gold coin in the cabinet of Mr. Cuff. The place of its finding is not known, nor is this important to our present purpose.



The obverse bears a rude representation of a human head, and the reverse a still ruder attempt to delineate two human figures, seated, with a winged figure hovering above them. The reader is referred to the wood-cuts, in the fifth volume of the Numismatic Chronicle, p. 10. These give

VOL. XII.

M

representations of a very remarkable penny of Ceolwulf; the reverse type being copied from a very common one of Valentinian, in which the joint emperors are seated in a chair, overshadowed by the wings of Victory, who stands above them. Mr. Bateman of Yolgrave, has recently forwarded us a cast from a barbarous imitation of these common coins of Valentinian, in which, though the type is tolerably well represented, the legend is given in a vitiated form.

The type in question, appears, therefore, from these and numerous other rude copies, which have come under our notice, to have been a favourite one among the christianised Saxons and Franks, and the reason would appear to be this;—that on these rude and degenerate pieces the winged figure no longer represents Victory, but the third personage of the Trinity.

The adoption, and adaptation of pagan rites, superstitions and devices, was artfully devised by the ecclesiastics at this period. Brand in the preface to his "*Popular Antiquities*," truly observes, "that at the first promulgation of Christianity to the gentile nations, though the new converts yielded to the force of truth to conviction, yet they could not be persuaded to relinquish many of their superstitions, which rather than forego altogether, they chose to blend and incorporate with their new faith." So in the infancy of protestantism the old superstitions were unassailed if not absolutely inimical to the new doctrine, "just as careful nurses and mothers," observes the witty Fuller, "coax the knife from the hands of children, by presenting them with a rattle!"

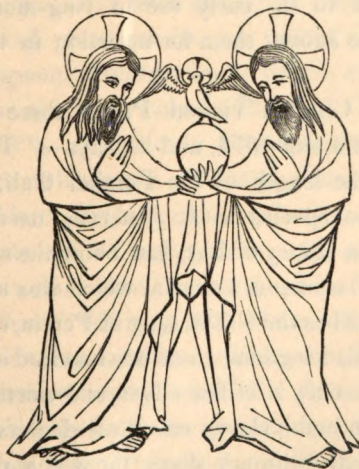
We do not attempt to follow the gradations of corruption of this once popular device: it may be seen to some extent in the cut here engraved and those cited; and we



leave it to the fancy of the reader how far it may have influenced the artists of the middle ages in their delineations of groups like those here represented, and borrowed from M. Dindron's work on Christian Iconography. The first, from a MS. of the thirteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, depicts the Trinity creating man.



The other is from a MS. of the thirteenth century, and is in the same collection.



J. Y. A.

## X.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE SILVER FISH-HOOK  
MONEY, AND THE TICALS OF SIAM.

SIR,— Since my communication upon the gold ring-money of the Jolaf tribe of Africans, and the silver fish-hook-shaped money of Ceylon, honoured by being read before the Numismatic Society, and published in the Numismatic Chronicle (Vol. XI. p. 161), my attention has been called by a learned friend to Sir John Chardin's observations upon the latter currency, in his "*Voyage en Perse.*" Circumstances prevented me availing myself of this obliging suggestion till very recently, and as Sir John Chardin's observations seem to me very interesting in a general numismatic view, and tend very materially to strengthen the argument as to the early use of ring-money, I now beg permission to submit them for insertion in the Numismatic Chronicle.

Sir John Chardin visited Persia three times between the years 1664 and 1674, and he says—"There is a money throughout the length of the Persian Gulf, called *Larins*, which is the species most generally used in commerce. *Larins* mean money of Lar, Lar being the name of the capital city of Caramania Deserta, which was a separate kingdom before Abas the Great, king of Persia, conquered it, and added it to his kingdom, some one hundred and twenty years ago. This money is of fine silver, and worth two *chayé* and a half, which make eleven sols three deniers of our money. It is of an extraordinary shape, for it is a round thread, as thick as a writing quill, doubled into two in its length, to



the breadth of an inch, (*plié á deux de la longueur d'un travers de pouce*) with a small mark upon it, which is the stamp of the prince. As this money has been no longer struck since the conquest of the kingdom, little of it is seen; but they have not ceased to reckon by it throughout that country, to the Indies, along the gulf of Cambay, and in the countries round about. It is said that this money was current formerly throughout the whole East." That I may not run the risk of error in rendering Chardin's account, I add the original.

"Il y a une monnoye tout le long du Golphe Persique, nommée Larins, qui est celle dont on s'y sert le plus dans le Commerce. Larins veut dire monnoye de Lar, qui est le nom de la ville capitale de la Caramanie Deserte, laquelle etoit un royaume particulier, avant Abas le Grand, Roi de Perse, qui la conquit et l'incorpora à son royaume, il y a quelques six vingts ans. Cette monnoye est d'argent fin et vaut deux chayé et demi, qu font onze sols trois deniers de nôtre monnoye. Elle est d'une figure extraordinaire, car c'est un fil rond, gros comme une plume à écrire, plié à deux de la longueur, d'un travers de pouce, avec une petite marque dessus qui est le coin du Prince. Comme on n'en bat plus depuis la conquête du Royaume on n'en voit plus guères, mais on ne laisse pas de compter par cette monnoye en tout ce païs la, et aux Indes, le long du Golph de Cambaye, et dans les païs qui en sont proche. On dit qu'elle avoit cours autrefois dans tout l'orient." Sir John Chardin's "Voyage en Perse," vol. iv. p. 279, 12mo. Ed. Amst. 1711.

From the above account it would appear, that the specimens of silver-wire money which Sir John Chardin saw, were of the kind shewn in the plate to my paper in Volume XI. p. 161, Numismatic Chronicle, marked No. 4 and 7; being little more than lengths of silver wire doubled in two,

and when so doubled being about an inch in length. When Chardin wrote, the fabrication of these pieces had ceased from the time of the conquest of Lar by Abas the Great one hundred and twenty years before his, Chardin's time, or about the middle of the sixteenth century. That these coins were of a remote era as to their type, we may presume from the simplicity of their style, being merely bent wire with a small mark (not inscription), as the stamp of the Prince. But it would seem, though Larins were no longer fabricated, so well established were they in the estimation and habits of the people, that they still continued to reckon by them, as we do by the *Libra* or *Pound*, though its origin, even, is forgotten by the people at large. And that this form of money must have existed from very remote periods may be inferred, not only from this mode of computation throughout the whole length of the *Persian Gulf*; but because Chardin says such form of reckoning accounts, extended to the *Indies*, along the *Gulf of Cambay*, and in the countries round about. The coin from which this computation was derived, must have been very long in use, to have obtained so widely extended an influence over the habits of people, under various governments. But Sir John Chardin states, that he had been informed that this coinage formerly had been current throughout the whole *East*. If so, the supposition of its very remote origin must be much strengthened; for it is not reasonable to conceive that it could have been so universal, had it not been antecedent to the use of medal-money, it being contrary to probability that a whole portion of the globe would adopt such a form, when possessing the more perfect form of metallic medium in the type of medal-money. To graft medal-money generally upon the use of this simple currency, is a course we can easily imagine probable, but not the converse. Chardin only gives it as a



report that this currency had so extensive a circulation ; but I shall presently shew, from other authorities, the great probability, almost certainty, of the fact. But before doing so, I would wish to draw attention to some other particulars. Sir John says, that in his time the coinage of these pieces had ceased about one hundred and twenty years, in Carmania Deserta. If this was so, there is reason to believe that after his time the coinage of this wire-money was resumed, for I have shewn several specimens with not small marks as the stamp of the Prince, but with inscriptions in the Persian character. Mr. Vaux of the British Museum has kindly informed me, that there is a specimen in the museum cabinet, upon which he distinctly reads, in the Persian language, "*Mohammed the prophet of God*;" and upon another, more worn, he believes he can trace words "which perhaps are for '*struck at Hamadan*.'" Upon one of the specimens engraved for my paper, it is considered the word "*Melek*" (king) may be read. And Mr. Vaux further informs me, that his friend the Baron de Bode, when in Persia, found these coins still in existence in Laristan. These inscriptions are quite in keeping with the inscriptions on the medal-money of Persia in the time of Chardin ; for he says, "The impression of the money, as that of the Great Seals of the state, contains on one side, in the middle, the confession of the Persian faith in these words—" *There is no other God than God*," "*Mohammed is the prophet of God*," "*Aly is the Vicegerent (Lieutenant) of God*," with the names of the twelve Imaums, or first successors of Mohammed, around ; and on the other side, the name of the king ; of the place ; and of the year. He adds, on the copper-money, there is the Hieroglyphic of Persia, the Lion with a rising sun over his back on one side ; on the other, the time, and the name of

the place where the piece was struck." I subjoin the original.

"L'empreinte de la monnoye, comme celle des grands sceaux de l'état, contient d'un côté, dans le milieu, la confession de foi Persane, en ces mots. *Il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu, Mohammed est le Prophète de Dieu, Aly est le Lieutenant de Dieu*, avec les noms des douze Imans ou premiers successeurs de Mohammed, autour; et de l'autre le nom du Roi; du lieu; et de l'année. La monnoye de cuivre a d'un côté, le Hieroglyphe de Perse, qui est un Lion avec un *Soleil levant* sur son dos; et de l'autre, le tems, et le nom du lieu, ou la pièce a été frappée." — "Voyage en Perse." vol. iv. p. 279, same ed.

I would wish to point out particularly the exact conformity of some of the above inscriptions with those in the British Museum on the wire-money, and on the specimens given in the plate to my paper, such conformity proving that the Persians when they re-issued the Larins, considered the type sufficiently current-money to apply to it the usual medallic inscription. Whether the Larins with a chequered pattern stamped upon them, are ancient specimens before the conquest of Laristan by Abas the Great, in the sixteenth century,—or are more recent specimens with the "small mark" continued, for "the stamp of the Prince,"—or belong to some other state in the East,—it would be difficult to say. That the attribution to the island of Ceylon of the pieces exhibited in the published plate referred to, is an allowable one, I think will be admitted from the following circumstances.

Dr. John Davy, in his "Account of the Interior of Ceylon" 4to. 1821. page 245, after speaking of the gold coin as the Indian Pagodali—now the only gold coin to be met with, and stating that an antique gold coin called a *Dambadinia*



*rhatra*, was lately found, says, "the silver coin in circulation, called a *riddy* or *rheedy*, is worth about seven-pence English, and is equivalent to sixty-four Kandyan challies. Its form is singular; it resembles a fish-hook, and is merely a piece of thick silver wire bent." Had Dr. John Davy stopped here, the exact connexion of the Kandyan silver coins with the exhibited fish-hook coins would not have been complete; but he gives a sketch of one, exactly conforming with the fish-hook coins in my plate, being a *doubled* silver wire bent into the shape of a fish-hook, or rather bent a little more so as to be quite in a state to be strung on a cord, or slipped on a rod. There does not appear to be any inscription on the specimen, nor does he allude to any; but there is a notch as in the specimens in my plate. That Dr. John Davy is correct in his statement, I think would scarcely be doubted were there no confirmation of it — but I have met with an authority carrying back the use of this singular money to a period a little earlier than the date of Sir John Chardin's *Voyage en Perse*, namely to the year 1657.

In "Captain Knox and Ribeyro's History of Ceylon," (about the year 1657) at page 479 vol ii. of Harris' Collection, is to be found the following passage. "There are but three sorts of coins in this King's dominion. One is *Tangoni Massa*, first coined by the Portuguese with this king's arms on one side, and the image of a Friar on the other; the value is nine-pence. The *Poddi Tangoni*, which is half as much. There is another sort, which all the people may and do coin by the king's permission, 'tis in shape like a fish-hook, and pure silver, finer than pieces of eight, for if they suspect the goodness of it, their custom is to heat it red-hot in the fire, and put it into water; and if it be not pure white, it is not current money.

VOL. XII.

N

The third sort of money is the king's proper coin, and it is death to counterfeit it; it is called *Ponnam*, and is as small as a spangle, seventy-five of them make a piece of eight or Spanish dollar. All sorts of money are very scarce, and they frequently buy and sell by exchanging commodities."

The above tends to prove, not only that fish-hook money is rightly attributable to Ceylon, in common with other places, but also leads to the belief, that the report made to Chardin, that this singular form of money was current formerly throughout the whole East, is probably correct: for here we find in Ceylon the fabrication of this money a popular, not a regal coinage—a habit which the government permitted rather than enjoined. We may easily suppose, nay we may fairly take it for granted, that the sovereign found this practice so deeply rooted amongst the people, that it would have been injudicious to attempt to suppress it. Had this not been the case, it is scarcely probable that a king would have allowed it, having himself a proper currency. Kings are usually very jealous of the prerogative of coinage, and in this instance it would appear the king protected his own coinage by the penalty of death upon any imitation of it. The whole shews a strong attachment to this quasi ring-money which it may be reasonably supposed arose from a long persistence in it. It may be objected, that the case does not differ materially from that of our local tokens, but I think there is a considerable difference, in this respect,—that the fish-hook money is of an entirely different character from that of the government coinage, and appears to have been one of those ancient customs, like the dress of the highlanders in Scotland, and the beard in Russia, which a government finds it impossible to change. That it is deeply rooted in this important



island of the East, is evident from the fact, that in the face of a medallic currency, it has maintained its position to the present day. The inference which I wish to draw from the whole, is, the soundness of the view taken, that a currency in bullion, of a character to be worn or carried in loops, or upon rods, about the person, is one of the oldest, if not *the* oldest form of medial exchange; and that it anciently possessed, and still possesses the character of money as essentially as medal-money, though, it is admitted, in a less perfect form.

---

## SIAMESE SILVER CURRENCY.

I avail myself of this opportunity to add a few observations upon the above currency, as an appendix to my paper upon the subject in Vol. XI. p. 40 of the Numismatic Chronicle. In my paper I stated I had been informed, this species of money was called Tekal or Tickal. The learned author of the sale catalogue of the Pembroke coins described a specimen of this coinage as—"No. 244. Silver Siamese coin called a *Tical*?", by the mark of interrogation implying, I presume, a doubt as to the correctness of the designation. Upon this point, and also upon the irregularity of the gradations of the coinage in weight, to which I alluded in my paper upon the coins, I have met with some remarks which tend to explain the subject. In Harris' collection Vol. II. p. 476, under the head "An Historical Account of the Kingdom of Siam extracted out of the Voyages of six Jesuits sent into the Indies by the French king, 1685. And the relation of M. De la Loubère, the French king's Envoy Extraordinary to the king of Siam, 1687 and 1688," is the following, as far I can judge, taken from Loubère.

"Their weights are usually pieces of their money, which

are the most nice and true of anything weighed, though frequently false and light, and therefore the same name, *Ding*, signifies weight and money both. Their silver coins are of the figure of a little cylinder or rowl, very short, and bowed so in the middle that both ends touch. Their stamps are unknown to us. Their Tical which weighs no more than half-a-crown of our money is worth three shillings and three half-pence. They have no gold or copper-money. Gold is a merchandise among them, and twelve times the value of silver, the purity being supposed equal in both metals. They cut it into ill-shaped pieces, and with them pay for their commodities; and for that purpose they always carry a pair of gold scales, and a touch-stone in their hands."

The weight of the coin called above a *Tical*, is sufficiently near the weight of the coin described in my paper as such, and the shape stated is so exactly the same, with a similar unintelligible stamp, that there cannot be a doubt that the two coins are identically the same; and, if so, the name assigned, upon information, must, I think, be admitted as the correct one. Further, the weights of these coins are said to vary—and such I have found to be the fact. The Tical I described weighed  $226\frac{1}{2}$  grains; one now in my possession weighs 236 grains; and one in the cabinet of Mr. Walter Hawkins  $249\frac{1}{2}$  grains; whilst the Tical sold in the Pembroke collection, weighed, I am credibly informed, only  $207\frac{3}{10}$  grains; so widely differ the specimens of this coinage. This irregularity of the Tical, with the irregular divisions stated by Marsden — Tical 9 *dwt.*; (fourth) 2 *dwt.* 10 *grains*; (eighth, not named by Marsden, in my possession, 30 *grains*); the (sixteenth)  $14\frac{1}{2}$  *grains*, and (thirty-second) 8 *grains*, much puzzled me, till I met with the above quoted account. No doubt there is a *half* of the Tical. It had struck



me from the low descent of the silver coinage, that the Siamese, as the Greeks in their earlier ages, had not any copper currency, and the quotation cited nearly proves the conjecture correct, though Tavernier says, "they have a third sort of money in copper — of these pieces they give 200 for one piece of silver." Tavernier states the silver coins at 3 drachms and a half and 25 grains, or 235 grains, evidently the Tical from the weight.

I am, Sir,

Yours very obediently,

W. B. DICKINSON.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.



---



XII.


*See pp 56 & 79  
p. 2 plates*

ON THE ORIENTAL LEGENDS ON CERTAIN IMPERIAL ARSACIDAN AND PARTHO-PERSIAN COINS. BY EDWARD THOMAS, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.


(Continued from page 77.)

To commence with the Sassanian character , which, like its usual correspondent in the associate Pehlvi, may, from its comparative complication, be fairly assumed to represent a compound letter, it will be seen that the initial portion of its entire outline is identical in its caligraphical development with the common form of  H; indeed, divested of its second down-stroke, the doubtful character is at once resolved into a simple H. The next point to be ascertained is, whether we are to look for the derivative of the second letter in our compound from the single additional tail-stroke, or from the combination formed by the

double lines which complete the letter, one of which constitutes an integral portion of the normal H.<sup>1</sup> The single line furnishes us with nothing in the shape of a suggestive hint; but, taking the double lines, we may compare the letter thus detached to either a Persepolitan  SH, partially inclined to render it a satisfactory adjunct to the leading letter, or to the form , lately noticed, which there is some reason to believe to have the value of S. The entire character, under these conditions, would stand for هس or هش, and, giving the full aspiration to the initial figure, would be equivalent to the modern خس or خش.

So also in the Persepolitan Pehlvi, which a single glance at the comparative Alphabets in Plate II. will show to be essentially Hebrew in its literal form. The compound tested by the standard of its own and Hebrew letters, is curiously enough capable of being reduced into nearly similar constituents to those obtained from the dissection of the Sassanian equivalent. In this case we have an  H, slightly modified to suit the run of the new combination, to which is joined a form which it would be very possible to identify with the modern shape of the current Hebrew SH, or S.<sup>2</sup>

In concluding these introductory remarks upon the less

<sup>1</sup> That the original form of the Sassanian H was liable to subsidiary modifications, having important effects upon its proper phonetic power, and, indeed, creating a new and independent letter, retaining, however, amid its acquired articulate elements, the old sound of H, is proved by the character  CH, which is obviously only the common H with the addition of a retrograde foot-stroke.

<sup>2</sup> Tried by the Hebrew test, it may be mentioned, that the modern Rabbinical NG, possesses much similarity of form with our doubtful letter; and in looking to other languages of proximate currency, the KH of the *Zend* may be cited as singularly like the Persepolitan outline.



determinate characters, and previous to the exhibition of the alphabet itself, it will be requisite to refer to the apparent geographical limits over which the use of the Persepolitan Pehlvi system of writing extended, both as ancillary to a definite location of the coins characterised by the impress of its letters, and as valuable in indicating the possible affinities of the language the latter served to represent. The evidence at present available on this point consists chiefly in the results to be deduced from a consideration of the sites of the various inscriptions hitherto made known by modern observers. Judging from these incomplete data, the currency of that class of character, which is identical in its main features with the alphabets of the coins, is proved in two localities only, the country around the ancient city of Persepolis (*Istakhr*), where its symbols form the original text,<sup>3</sup> and occupy the place of honour in the legends explanatory of the numerous rock-sculptures executed in the neighbourhood, etc., and the town of Shahrzór ( $35^{\circ} 50'$ ,  $44^{\circ} 24'$ ), where its letters figure in the bilingual inscriptions which adorn the fire temples.<sup>4</sup> According to Major Rawlinson,<sup>5</sup> earlier

<sup>3</sup> Ex. Gr. In the Bilingual Inscription at Hájí-ábád, it is to the right of the two legends, both of which read from right to left. In the Naksh-i-Rajab writings it is placed first on the breast of the horse of the chief figure (Sapor), and beneath it is given the Greek translation, the Sassanian Pehlvi transcript being placed apart below the horse's neck.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson, *Memoir*, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> I transcribe Major Rawlinson's classification in detail. "The three varieties of Parthian to which I refer are, 1stly, a very barbarous character, which is found on the tablets at Tang-i-Sulúk, near Behán; at Shimbor, in the Bakhtiari mountains; and in a cave near Amadiah. The first set of these inscriptions have been published by M. Boré, in the *Journal Asiatique*, after the Baron de Bode's copy (vol. xiii., an. 1842, p. 238); for transcripts of the others I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Layard and M. de Laval; 2ndly, the character of the inscription at

varieties of this character are also found in inscriptions at—  
 1. Amadíah; 2. Holwán; 3. Shimbor, in the Bakhtiari mountains; and 4. Bebahán. On such authority, taking the primary identity of the alphabets for granted, these examples of the employment of the anterior and more barbarous character, combined with the more modern instances of its use just noticed, complete a chain of fixed points, running in a but slightly waved line, at a general parallel of 150 miles east of the Tigris, from Amadíah to Bebahán and on to Persepolis; thus embracing the greater part of the provinces of Kurdistán, Khuzistán, and Fars. As the less debateable inscriptions of Shahrzór and Persepolis give very nearly the same geographical results, we need not stop to enquire whether the earlier and more rude inscriptions will bear the test of a literal<sup>6</sup> analysis to prove their common origin with the alphabets more immediately

---

Holwan, which, in my Memoir on Susiana (Journ. Geog. Soc., vol. ix., p. 37), I have named Pehlevi, but which, on further examination, I believe to be a very old type of the Parthian; and, 3rdly, the character of the Parthian translation in the Bilingual inscriptions of Ardeshir Babegán. . . . Porter contributed a long Parthian inscription from a cave at Hájí-ábád, and I have also extensive legends in the same character, copied by myself, from the ruins of the fire-temples at Sharizor." — *Memoir, supra cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Judging from M. Boré's copy of the Bebahán inscriptions, which are the only specimens of Major R.'s *ancient* Parthian writings yet published, there is some room to question the sufficiency of the internal evidence towards the proof of their identity with the more recent legends at Persepolis. In M. Boré's (probably imperfect) copy I only find five letters of analogous form to the characters of the Persepolitan Pehlvi. The geographical position of the inscription between the sites of two sets of *inter se* avowedly identical specimens of the modern alphabet is, perhaps, a safer argument to rely upon than literal affinities, which, in so undetermined a period as that which possibly elapsed between the execution of the different inscriptions, may be supposed to have undergone extensive modification.



in question, but proceed to remark, that, under these conditions, the alphabet seems to have little of local affinity tending to identify it with the Parthians, but rather that it should be referred to some Mesopotamian or Babylonian source, indicating a community of origin with the Hebrew itself, of whose main features and characteristics it is seen so largely to partake. At the same time it may be added, that its intitulation as Parthian seems in no wise appropriate, beyond the mere fact of the symbols of its language having a current existence in certain portions of the empire owning Parthian sway, which no more evidences for it a claim to a special Parthian attribution, than does the occurrence of the Bactrian Palí on the Eastern coins, or the Sassanian letters in the monograms on the Imperial coins with Greek legends, issued by that race.

As the Persepolitan Pehlvi alphabet, which more especially claims attention in this place, is essentially identical in the majority of its forms with the Hebrew,<sup>7</sup> I follow the order of that literal series in the arrangement of the accompanying plate, inserting the alphabet in its full entirety, with a view of showing what letters are possibly wanting in the Pehlvi.

As I have frequent occasion to refer to the Sassanian lapidary character in illustration of my subject, I have placed a complete suite of these letters in parallel juxtaposition with their Persepolitan equivalents, adding thereto, for the purpose of more ready comparison, a column of modern Pehlvi, as adopted by the Société Asiatique of Paris, retaining all the later Parsí complications which were found necessary to bring up an original alphabet of seventeen letters to a par with the more copious Arabic Neskhí. To

<sup>7</sup> To show this coincidence more directly and completely, I subjoin an alphabet of Rabbinical Hebrew.

these last I have appended their correspondents in common Persian, as more generally intelligible, and as invariably used in my text to express Sassanian words. In quoting Persepolitan Pehlvi terms, I use the analogous Hebrew type, generally adding the modern Persian transcription, which exhibits so much more appropriately, and identifies so much more exactly, any words assimilating to the classic language of the country.

I must observe, in regard to the forms of the letters of the Persepolitan Pehlvi now given, that they are in each case free representations of selected examples of the character. The alphabetical symbols in the inscription at Hájí-ábád are by no means constant and uniform in their individual outlines, and vary, not only with the hand and eye of the sculptor, but have been designedly modified according to the relative position they hold in a word, as well as in reference to their own immediate antecedent and succeeding letters. It is merely necessary to mention this last fact, that the reader may be prepared for an occasional departure from what otherwise might be deemed fixed models. In regard to the manner in which letters are affected by their own place in a word, as initial and medial distinguished from final, it will be found, as might have been expected from the frequency of the practice among Eastern nations, that in many instances the finals are marked by a certain elongation of their terminal point: but instead of being thus modified by a perpendicular down-stroke, as in Hebrew, the change only takes effect in those characters which have a lower horizontal limb, and the sign of the final is then given by a cursive prolongation of the line in the direction held by the writing; these supplemental definitions, which of course had for their purpose to facilitate the reading, have, at times, a very contrary effect in this day, as, from the similarity of the bases of certain



letters liable to be thus treated, it is often difficult to distinguish the original intent of the artist,<sup>8</sup> especially where the words are not sufficiently separated by spaces, as they are usually intended to be.<sup>9</sup>


I shall not attempt to generalize upon the modifications of the standard alphabet that occur on the coins; these must be left to be tried on their own merits, their only true test, in doubtful cases, being the concurrent letters on the same species of coin; any remarks, therefore, that may offer on the subject must be reserved for the individual case of each.


## COINS.

ARSACES XXVIII. . . . VOLOGESES III.<sup>10</sup> A.D. 149.

No. 1. Plate. — Copper. Weight, 104 grains. BM.<sup>11</sup>

*Obv.*—*Rude* bearded head, crowned with the Parthian cap.  
Monogram, R.

*Rev.*—Centre device  <sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Thus, in G, K, and B, the elongation of the foot-line of the first and second of these letters frequently makes them look like the third. I would take this opportunity of showing the modification the letter **κ** undergoes in becoming final: the figure  offers an exact representation of the letter in that position.

<sup>9</sup> No engraving that I am aware of shows this division of words, except Rich's Pl. xii., Babylon and Persepolis; it is, however, sufficiently marked in the originals, at least, judging from our Hâji-âbâd casts.

<sup>10</sup> I do not disturb the classification which assigns these coins to Vologeses III., though the grounds of the appropriation are of necessity somewhat conjectural.

<sup>11</sup> R. Payne Knight's Catalogue (c) 3, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> This singular device has as yet received no satisfactory explanation. Pellerin calls it "un cippe avec un grand cercle au dessus;" and adds, "je ne sais ce que ce type représente, ni ce qu'il peut signifier" (p. 32, 3rd supplement). Mionnet suggests, "Une clef, ou symbole à-peu-près semblable" (tom. v. p. 686). The earliest instance of its use I am able to refer to occurs on a

Restored legend in Persepolitan Pehlvi, which is arranged on the coin somewhat after the manner of the Greek inscriptions on the silver money of the Parthians.

ولگشی اگشک ملکین ملکا  
ولگشی اگشک ملکین ملکا

Of Kings  
Vologeses.  
King.  
Arsaces.

I have supplied the word **ملکا** from a good specimen of a similar coin in the Paris "Bibliothèque Nationale." A doubt might possibly be suggested as to the value of the final

daric, attributed by M. de Luynes to the city of Soli, where it appears as the monogram behind the "*Archer Médique*." M. de Luynes designates it "Un anneau à cachet . . . un symbole que je ne puis expliquer" (*Essai sur la Numismatique*, etc.; Paris, 1846; p.64). Again, it is to be seen on a doubtful Parthian coin, with the seated figure (*Revue*; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl.15, fig. 9). Next I would cite, though with some hesitation, a representation of a nearly similar object, engraved by Hyde (tab.ii., *Hist. Relig. Veterum Persar.*), which is stated to be a symbol of the sun in the form of a *disc*, placed on a lance pole, and used as a standard. If the identity of the object on the Parthian coins with the device described by Hyde be deemed satisfactory, the explanation of the meaning of the emblem is at once suggested, and its continued employment, but little varied, both as a standard in the one case, and a coin device in the other, the first may be shown by a reference to plate 20, vol.i., Ker Porter, where the standard displayed behind one of the principal combatants in the sculpture is fashioned much after the form of a disc, with the supporting shaft continued through it, having a cross-bar below, from which depend two hair tails; which, as an *ensemble*, serves forcibly to suggest a comparison with a Turkish Pacha's standard of the present day. The device under reference is found on the coins of the Sassanidæ as a very frequent monogrammatic adjunct, but perhaps altered in its original import by the addition of a crescent touching the top of the disc (De Sacy, p.200; Longpérier, p. 16). In the earliest Kufic copper money of the Arabs, the emblem reappears with more of its first integrity, and is here used distinctly as representing an object of adoration, inasmuch as it is raised up upon what appear to be intended for the steps of an altar. It is to be remarked, that in one instance the superior portion is formed as a globe, instead of the double parallel circles of the older form; and in the more westerly examples of the coinage the symbol retains the form of the standard on the sculpture just noticed (See M. de Sauley, *Journal Asiatique*, plates, pp.347, 494, etc.)



letter in אגשך which, on some examples of this coinage, looks like the second character of the same name, and differs materially from the כ in מלכין ; but I imagine that the difference of form is merely attributable to the usual elongation of the lower stroke marking the final כ.

The very perceptible discrepancy between the forms and the horizontal inclinations of the two Ghimels on the surface of the piece engraved (occurring in אגשי and אגשך respectively) may be thought to require some explanation, but I imagine the variation in each case to be caused by the desire, on the part of the die-sinker, to make the most of his available space, after giving due expression to the preceding letters; and it has been already a subject of remark in reference to the lapidary inscriptions, that individual characters were subjected to considerable diversification under the influence of their antecedent letters.

No. 2. Plate.—Copper. Weight, 100 grains. BM.<sup>13</sup>

Obv.—As No. 1.

Rev.—Device as No. 1. Legend obliterated, with the exception of the name אגשי and אגשי which is unusually distinct.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> 4  $\frac{44}{62}$  25 Borrell. Another similar coin  $\frac{\text{H. P. B.}}{\text{p. 164, No. 1}}$  weighs 128.5 grains.

<sup>14</sup> The following citations will convey, in a brief form, the substance of the advances made by successive enquirers towards the decipherment of the legends borne by medals similar to the above. Swinton identified the second, fourth, and fifth letters of the name of Vologeses correctly, and conjecturally supplied the initial character, which was wanting on his coin; his sole failure in this particular interpretation was making the third letter, G, into an y (see his fig. 3, copied by Ouseley, pl. fig. 10). Pellerin's contributions are confined to the following remarks: "Parmi les caractères dont est composée la légende qui l'environne en forme de couronne il y en a plusieurs qui ressemblent à des caractères Samaritains et Syriaques: les autres me sont inconnus" (3rd supplement, p. 32). De Sacy notices these coins in the following terms, having previously criticised and objected to Swinton's

There is a subordinate class of nearly similar coins,<sup>15</sup> upon which the legend is arranged in one continuous circle

explanation: "J'observerai, avant de finir ce Mémoire, qu'il est un autre genre de médailles qui portent des légends en caractères inconnus, mais différens de ceux que je viens d'expliquer. . . . M. Pellerin en a donné une dans son troisième supplément, Planche I. No. 13, et le cabinet du roi en possède plusieurs en bronze. Je ne puis lire les légendes de ces médailles" (Mém. sur div. Ant. 201). Ouseley's definition of the values of the different letters of the legend is annexed in full, to which is subjoined the reading now proposed; but to show my readers that I am not objecting needlessly to the interpretation of so good an Oriental scholar as Sir William Ouseley, I must add, that one entire word of the four composing the coin legend has been read topsy-turvy.

Ouseley's reading, מלכא בה בלני מלכאן מלכא

Reading now proposed, מלכין ולגשי מלכא אנשך

It will be seen from this, that Ouseley considered that he had nineteen letters in his entire legend, though there are actually only eighteen, after disposing of his last word and the concluding letter of his penultimate word, which he entirely erred in interpreting, from mistaking the direction of this portion of the legend. There remain only seven letters which agree with the present decipherment; so that, as has before been stated, there are no less than twelve letters out of the whole number incorrectly determined. Mionnet not only made no pretension to advance our knowledge of these alphabets, but even failed to cite the published notices of his elsewhere-accepted Oriental authority on these subjects. He remarks, "Ces caractères ont été indiqués comme persans dans la planche xxix. du Recueil; mais ils sont jusqu'à présent inconnus" (p. 686, vol. v.). His engraving of the legend (No. 168, pl. xxix. fig. 1) possesses also but little value, having, like Ouseley's *reading*, one word bottom upwards, and the starting point selected from the middle of another. In attempting to read his so called fac-simile, it is necessary to drop the first and second letters to the right, when the word "Malka" may be traced; it is then requisite to reverse the page, when the next four letters will be found to convey the title "Agshak"; replacing the volume in its usual position, and reading *on*, the next four letters will give you imperfectly the title "Malkin," and the remaining letters, joined on to the two omitted at the commencement, in all, five characters, supply a but little trustworthy representation of the name of "Vologeses."

<sup>15</sup> Dr. Swinton, Phil. Trans., pl. 18, fig. 3; Mionnet, vol. v. pl. xxix. figs. 2, 3, coin 169, etc.



around the central device of the reverse, the lower line of the letters being placed uniformly outwards. I have not as yet been able to satisfy myself as to the correct reading of the inscription; as the medals I have had an opportunity of examining<sup>16</sup> are not only very imperfect in their original impress and injury from subsequent abrasion, but the characters still remaining on their surfaces evidence in themselves a want of clear definition, which would counsel extreme caution in any conjectural attribution.

### PARTHO-PERSIAN COINS.

Amid the intentional silence of Eastern authors,<sup>17</sup> and the mere incidental notices of Western writers, which leave

---

<sup>16</sup> Three coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale; one in the possession of General Fox.

<sup>17</sup> The Persian version of Tabarî's copious history devotes but two pages to the illustration of the five centuries embraced in the Parthian period of the Persian empire. Of the 60,000 couplets of Ferdûsî, which purport to tell of all that was heroic in Persia, the Parthians have to content themselves with scarcely twenty. It may be requisite to inform those English readers who have not hitherto interested themselves in Oriental literature, that this Tabarî (or native of Taberistân), who stands so deservedly high as an authority on all matters relating to Persian history, flourished between the years A.H. 224 (A.D. 838-9) and A.H. 310 (A.D. 922-3), and composed his celebrated *Chronicle* at Baghdad. The voluminous original was written in the Arabic language, and a condensed Persian version was completed some fifty years subsequently, under the auspices of Mansûr bin Nôh, the Samânî king of Khorâsân, by his Vizîr Balami. A French translation of this last is in course of publication (aided by the Oriental Translation Fund), by M. Louis Dubeux; and it is satisfactory to know, that the obstacles which have hitherto delayed the progress of this undertaking have now ceased to exist, and that we may shortly expect a continuation of this standard work, which will bring us into the more valuable and authoritative portions of the entire composition.

us so deficient in the materials requisite for any comprehensive history of the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia, it is scarcely a matter of surprise to find an almost total want of any contributions to the local annals of the constituent provinces of their empire. We know generally that the entire system of the government of the Parthians was essentially feudal;<sup>18</sup> that the emperor himself was only satrap of satraps,<sup>19</sup> or king of kings, as he chose his own title; and that in every city there was a king,<sup>20</sup> though at the same time there existed a class of sovereigns, intermediate between the purely local maleks and the imperial potentate, who held, at times, considerable divisions of the country, under the terms of either direct appointment by the supreme ruler, or in virtue of their own power, which still found it expedient to avow a verbal allegiance to the common superior; and it is among these we must expect to trace the issuers of the different classes of provincial coins, which are marked by the Parthian symbol of supremacy—the high tiara—and at the same time subjected to such typical modification as should separate them from the higher class of imperial money. The various types of coins united by the impress

<sup>18</sup> Gibbon.

<sup>19</sup> Gotares' Greek inscription at Behistun, quoted by Rawlinson, p. 118, vol. xi. Journ. Roy. As. Soc.

<sup>20</sup> از بس اسکندر این ملک عجم از لب دجله ازین سوی  
که زمین عجم بود از حد عراق تا لب دریای جیحون همه  
بدست ملوک طوایف بود و هر شهری را بادشاهی بود

Tabari, MS., Royal Asiatic Society.

Another MS. (Royal Asiatic Society) gives the following version :

بهر شهری ملکی و پسر دهی ملکی و مهتری نه کس هر کسی را  
فرمان کرد و نه کس هر کسی را خراج داد و نه ملک بدید بود



of the alphabetical symbols more especially under review, can scarcely be supposed to have emanated from a single province, and the proof afforded by inscriptions of the currency of the characters, whereby they are specially distinguished, would lead us, in the first instance, to look for their places of mintage generally in Fars, Ahwáz, as well as higher up the eastern bank of the Tigris. It would, at this moment, be premature to speculate upon any nice departmental distinctions, or attempt any systematic classification of the different series of sub-Parthian pieces within our reach;<sup>21</sup> but of the few specimens collected in the

---

<sup>21</sup> Of the published varieties, I would notice the barbarous copper coins, fac-similes of whose legends are given by Mionnet, vol.v. pl.xxix. figs.4, 5, 6, 7 and 8; also Supplement, vol.viii. pl.iv. No.17. The characters on these coins have a degree of affinity to the Bebahán inscription given by M. Boré, *Journal Asiatique*, xiii. (1842), p 328, but the similitude may be deceptive.

Next I would refer to the coin figured in *Ariana Antiqua*, as No. 5, Plate XV., having on the obverse the head with the Parthian cap, and on the reverse the bust of the local king with a crescent and star, and, as a portion of the entire legend, the letters ויחמלא? This type has a very Persian air and appearance, and looks like a direct derivative from the coin preceding it in the same plate, and which is marked by the Persian *crowned* head on the obverse, and a full-length figure of *the king* (?) on the reverse, bowing before the star and crescent; the legend here is also in Persepolitan Pehlvi, but of much more barbarous execution than that seen on No. 5.

Of unpublished coins I might cite numerous examples; but I feel that I should little advance the enquiry, without the necessary engravings; I may, however, be allowed to refer for a moment to a most interesting specimen of a broad thin Sassanian-looking type, inscribed with nearly pure Sassanian letters, which seems to disclose to us the original model of a class of money whose history it is highly desirable to trace; I allude to the Indo-Sassanian coins depicted in Plate xvii., *Ariana Antiqua*, fig 9, and Plate xxi. fig.22. In the unpublished coin under reference, (specimens of which are to be found in the British Museum, the East India House, and in the possession of Mr.

accompanying plate, I should be disposed to hazard the opinion, that No. 4 probably belongs to an early epoch of the subordinate monarchy of Persia Proper, under her own kings, though acknowledging Parthian supremacy.<sup>22</sup> Nos. 5, 6, 7, I understand to evidence a more direct amount of Parthian power, such as we know from Tabari to have been exercised in that province previous to the rebellion of Ardashir Babegan,<sup>23</sup> whose coin is engraved as No. 8.

No. 3.—Silver. Weight, 47·5 grains. B.M. Plate fig. 3.

*Obv.*—Parthian head facing to the left, beard pointed, the hair apparently looped up under the tiara. Legend doubtful, תר מלכ<sup>24</sup>

*Rev.*—Uncovered beardless head, bound with a narrow fillet, the ends of which are prominently shown.

No. 4.—Silver. Weight, 53 grains. (Steuart.) B.M.

*Obv.*—Bearded head, with Parthian tiara, facing to the left, the hair pendent over the back of the neck in flowing curls.

*Rev.*—Head facing to the left, surmounted by a closely-fitting

Luscombe), we can distinguish on the obverse a Parthian head facing to the right, with the word "Malka," preceded by a long and somewhat complicated name that has not yet been read.

On the reverse is seen a full-front bearded head, with long, bushy, curled hair, extending on each side of the face to the shoulders, the whole surmounted by a close cap, with small bows on each side, showing possibly the ties of the fillets. Here again is clearly legible the concluding word "Malka," and on the opposite side of the field appears the name, shorter, but equally illegible, except in individual letters, with the designation on the obverse.

<sup>22</sup> De Sacy, quoting Strabo, lib. xv., Mem. sur div. Ant., p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> وآن جوهر که ملک اسطخر بون که بابک اورابکشت از دست او (اردوان) بون  
Tabari, MS. 99.

<sup>24</sup> I have been favoured with an opportunity of examining a similar coin of Mr. Lindsay's, which confirms the word מלכה, and the concluding תר of the king's name; the letter preceding the ת is a good deal worn; but what remains of it would assort with an original definition of an ש.



low-crowned cap or broad band,<sup>25</sup> probably the latter ; at the back is seen the tie of the fillet, the ends of which are prominently displayed behind the figure ; the hair is arranged in close regular tiers of curls ; the beard is also curled and worn shorter and less pointed than that characterising the Parthian profile on the obverse.

The peculiarities in the details of the entire device apparently evidence a design to indicate some marked individuality of race, which is most obviously associable with the traditional nationality of the earlier Persian dynasty, as capable of being traced in the general similarity and occasional identity of those portions of personal costume — which the limited field of display afforded by the bust effigy on a coin allow to appear — with the conventional habiliments which mark the immediate followers of Darius in the sculptures of Persepolis.

*Legend.*— כואת מלכא בר ? במיות מלכא

كوات ملكا بر ؟ كمیوت ملكا

King Kobád (Kú-át) Son of King Kamiuth ?

I obtain the reading of the first and second letters of the name of Kobád from a nearly similar coin in the possession of Mr. Stokes, which, though otherwise less perfect than the specimen engraved, gives these particular letters sufficiently legibly ; from the same source I amend the incorrect definition of the final ת T, in the same name, which, in the present specimen, has been completely reversed. The appearance of the Sassanian word **בן** *the Son of*, may require a moment's notice, as it may be imagined either to be misread, or out of place in its association with the letters of a different alphabet ; but its outline agrees too closely with

<sup>25</sup> Porter makes it the latter, Plates 46, 48, vol. i.; Plate lx. vol. ii. Rawlinson's drawing gives the close cap ; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x.

Generated at Washington University in St. Louis on 2021-02-25 21:34 GMT / [https://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google-digitized](https://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google-digitized) / [http://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google-domain](http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google-domain), Google-digitized

Generated at Washington University in St. Louis on 2021-02-25 21:34 GMT / [https://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google-digitized](https://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google-digitized) / [http://www.hathitrust.org/access\\_use#pd-google-domain](http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google-domain), Google-digitized



No. 5.—Silver. Weight, 62.0 grains. B.M. (Also No. 6 Plate, from a cast of a coin communicated by Mr. Burgon.<sup>27</sup>)

*Obv.*—Head, with Parthian tiara, facing to the left. Supposed by some to be a portrait of Arsaces VIII. or IX.<sup>28</sup>

*Rev.*—A “mobed” ministering before a fire-altar.

*Legend.*—Doubtful.

21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
פ	א	ל	כ	ה	.	ת	.	ו	.	ב	ר	ך	מ	ל	ך	פ	א	ל	כ	ה

In the absence of any satisfactory identification which, by giving a probable reading to the two names on this coin, should determine certain doubtful letters in the legend, I am compelled to confine myself to mere conjectures, founded upon the bare outline analogies of the different characters with those fixed alphabetical models which we derive from other sources. The opening letter, which occurs twice if not thrice in the inscription, is the great difficulty, as its form is totally different from any character we have hitherto met with, though it corresponds very closely with the letter } to which Major Rawlinson wishes to attach a value of DH.<sup>29</sup> For the reasons stated below, I

<sup>27</sup> See also the engraving of a similar coin in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xv. fig. 2; and Millingen, *Sylloge*, pl. iv. No. 66. Coin now in the possession of General Fox.

<sup>28</sup> Millingen, p. 84. As possibly offering an indication of some value towards the eventual determination of the general epoch of our medals, after having been itself subjected to the necessary scrutiny, I may cite the following identification of a but slightly varied type of coin:—"M. de Longpérier m'a fait connaître une médaille inédite de bronze du roi Vologèse 1<sup>er</sup> vers l'an 60 de J. C.; médaille qui porte d'un côté la tête du roi, et qui au revers, représente le roi debout, faisant un sacrifice sur un autel au-dessus duquel est placé un croissant."—Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 93, 94.

<sup>29</sup> I have before expressed a belief that Major Rawlinson had never seen the Pehlvi inscriptions, near Persepolis; in further proof of this, I am now able to cite his own words more directly

am induced unconditionally to reject this interpretation; but, having done so, it becomes incumbent to determine what phonetic power really attaches to the sign in question.

It will be remarked that, throughout the entire legend under review, there is an apparent design on the part of the die-engraver to close up the different letters composing the inscription, and that whereas the Rock-characters were developed laterally, these are prolonged perpendicularly, as if the artist found himself in possession of greater proportionate room to express the different literal peculiarities out of the horizontal line of writing than he could allow himself in the continuous body of the legend he had to insert in a given circular space: hence we find the  $\text{L}$  reduced to a

confirmatory of such an inference, published since my previous remarks were printed. In P. 69, Vol. xi Part I., Major R. writes, "I take the Parthian form ( $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭥𐭥}$ ) from the inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustám, copied by Flower or Chardin, in 1667, when the writing was in a more perfect state of preservation than at the time of Niebuhr's visit." These words are of themselves sufficient to explain how Major R. has been led to consider the simple letter  $\text{𐭠}$  in this and many other inscriptions as DH. He was well aware that the normal (and unpointed) form of the Persepolitan  $\text{𐭠}$  was identical with the  $\text{𐭠}$ , but in trusting to copyists who had joined the semicircular diacritical point which marks the distinction between the R and the D, and finding certain undoubted D's in the one simple form, and other less assured D's with this singular addition to its radical figure (see Plate accompanying), he was led into the very natural error of considering this combination as a new letter. Of course, all I now advance must be inferential, as I have no means of asserting that a combination, such as is given in Major R.'s *own fac-simile* (obligingly lent by Messrs. Harrison and Co.) does not exist, either at Naksh-i-Rustám, or elsewhere; but it is singular, that the perfect distinctness of the two portions of the character at Hájí-ábád should have been subjected to a nearly similar erroneous transcription in the hands of so excellent an artist as Sir R. K. Porter, whose engravings, and original drawings too, almost invariably give the originally dotted  $\text{𐭠}$  as a single elongated letter similar to the Hebrew  $\text{𐤅}$ .



mere perpendicular line, without either the usual curves or the central semi-circular stroke which so peculiarly gave a character to the letter; in like manner the **𐤊** is narrowed, on the one hand, and elongated downwards as the modern Hebrew final is at the present day. It is therefore possible, notwithstanding that the letters **𐤁 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇**, retain their ordinary forms, that the letter more immediately under consideration may be a suitable modification of some of our elsewhere differently-formed letters; under these terms, the **𐤐** P might be supposed to have been subjected to such alteration, and an attribution of this nature would obtain a degree of support from the fact that a nearly identical form is to this day in use in the Rabbinical Hebrew as B. It may be urged B is not P; but B and P had so much in common, that to this day we retain nothing of the correct *Papek* of the three languages on the rocks at Naksh-i-Rustam, but the universal *Babek*, degraded possibly by the Arabic **ب** which had to answer for its own proper sound, and the **پ** of the Persians. As bearing on the question of the probability of the character on the coin being a P, I would cite also the outline of the Palmyrene **𐤐**, the second figure of which, in Klaproth's *Aperçu*, pl. xi., almost evidences the transition state between the lapidary P and the upright letter under reference.

The second letter of the principal name is, without doubt, an **𐤅**. The third is less certain; some of the best examples give its outline as nearly identical with the initial, whereas others show it in the *here usual* form of a **𐤋** K; the next figure we must accept as a 'I or **𐤆** Z; the following and concluding character is formed most frequently after the likeness of the other undoubted **𐤋** K finals in *Malka*, but at times it is identical with the **𐤌** in the same title.

After this follows the usual *Malka*, and the two com-

pounds representing the words *son of*, and to this succeeds the patronymic, which contains three doubtful letters. The initial, which may be a כ, a י, or a ל. The second character is a manifest ת; after which comes a י; the following letter may be an נ, a ר, or a כ; the penultimate is the letter regarding which so much has been already said, and the concluding character is a ת; and the entire legend is terminated by the usual Malka.

No. 7.—Silver. Weight, 51·0 grains. B.M. Plate, Fig. 7.

*Obv.*—As in the last coin.

*Rev.*—Device, ditto.

The Legend, however, varies from the preceding—whether intentionally, or otherwise, it is difficult to say—in the leading name. The king's patronymic appears to be identical with that on Nos. 5 and 6, but is less complete and less accurately rendered than the others.

#### ARTAXERCES.

No. 8.—Silver. Weight, 63·0 grains. B.M. (Plate, fig. 8.)

*Obv.*—Head of the king, facing to the left, surmounted by a coronet; at the back of the neck depend the ends of the fillets; the hair and beard are both arranged in short regular curls, after the manner of the ancient Persians. Behind the figure are seen traces of a nearly effaced monogram.

*Rev.*—A mobed ministering before a fire-altar.

*Legend.*—

ארטהשטר מלכא בר \* כאלך מלכא  
ارتھشتر ملکا بر \* کایک ملکا

I have full confidence in the reading of the name of



It will be observed, that the letters of the entire legend have undergone a considerable degree of degradation, and that the definition of the distinguishing traits of letters, differing only in their minor details, is more than usually imperfect, so that it would be unsafe to propose for acceptance any identificatory reading of the concluding name in the legend, unaided by extrinsic inductive support, and this in the present instance is both unsatisfactory in itself, and unsuitable to suggest the desired explanation;<sup>31</sup> hence I

<sup>31</sup> There are several items contributing towards the validity of such a supposition; but I would especially cite the "*crown*," which here, for the first time, appears in the place of the Parthian cap. Ardeshir Babekán is known to have reverted to this species of diadem (see De Sacy, p. 60; Ker Porter, i, 558). Tabarí—

و اهواز هفتاد شهر است آن همه را ملك هرعزان بود و اكاسره

Q

would confine my remarks upon this head to the simple statement of my impression,<sup>32</sup> that the coin now described

ایشانرا دستوری داده بودند که تاج بر سر نهانندی و بعجم اندر هفت اهل بیت بودند که ایشان هم چون ملک تاج داشتندی زیرا که بانسب ملوک راست بودند و تاج ایسان خردتر از تاج ملک بودی — فتح اهواز MS. Royal Asiatic Society, No. 99, cap.

<sup>32</sup> There is a degree of obscurity still existing regarding the precise parentage of Ardeshir, notwithstanding the numerous extant monuments wherein he is entitled the son of Papek, and the fact of that affiliation being adopted by the best and earliest of our accessible Persian authorities. De Sacy has collected numerous conflicting testimonies on the subject (*Mem. sur div. Ant.*, pp. 32, 167, 274), to which may be added the two versions given by Mojmél Al Tawarikh (*Journal Asiatique*, tom. vii. 1839, p. 270), and the statement of Khondemir, quoted by Ker Porter, p. 534. I may also refer to Albirúní (*MS. Brit. Mus.* p. 48, verso), and Abulfarage (Pocock), who equally denominate him the son of Babek. I subjoin the authoritative detail given by Tabarí, which is as yet unpublished, previously disposing of the poetical historiette of Ferdusí, which is to the effect, that Ardeshir was the son of Sassan by the daughter of King Babek (*Macan's Shah Nameh*, vol. iii. p. 1365):—

و اصطخر را روستایست نام وی طیور و ارد شیر از آن ده بود و ساسان جد ارد شیر <sup>sic.</sup> مردی بود مبارز با هفتاد سوار برآمدی و ملک نبود و لیکن برین دیوها و روستاها مهتر بود و آتش خانه اصطخر بدست وی بود و مردی جلد بود و او را زنی بود مستهپ نام از نسل بازرنجیان که ملوک بارس بودند بس ساسانرا بسری آمد او را بابک نام کرد \* \* بس چون بزرگ شد بذرش ببرد و بابک هم بکار بذرایستان بنگاه داشتن آتش و مهتری روستاها و هر کسی او را بزرگ میداشتی بس بابک را ارد شیر بیامد The text goes on to relate, that there was at this time a king of Persia (reigning in Persepolis) named Johur (جوهر), who had a favourite eunuch called Péri (پری), whom he had made king of Dárabgerd. When Ardeshir attained the age of seven years his father presented him to Johur, who, approving of him, sent



is a piece of Ardeshir, the self-styled son of Babek, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, though I am altogether unable to decide whether his father's name, as it appears on the coin, should be held to be that of his real, adopting, or politically-expedient sire!

The coin engraved as Fig. 3, Pl. xv. *Ariana Antiqua*, is a smaller piece of the same class as that just described, but it offers certain peculiarities in the legend that may well claim notice in this place. In the name of Artaxerces, the fifth letter, whose correspondent in the previously-examined specimen appears to be a  $\Psi$  or  $\mathcal{D}$ , here takes the form (or much of the character) of the letter placed in the alphabetical plate as the second of the still-undetermined characters; and, assuming the reading of the entire name as certain, a question immediately arises, is this *new* form an imperfect effort of the engraver to represent the due figure of the acknowledged  $\Psi$ , or is it the result of an indeterminate orthography, which admitted of the introduction of a different letter of an approximate phonetic power? It is, perhaps, difficult to decide this point upon the scanty evidence before us; but it is at the least singular that this letter  $\Psi$  takes the place of a second numismatic character we can readily trace in its outlines to a common origin with a Hebrew  $\mathcal{D}$ ; and that, on the other hand, taking this first-named form in association with another alphabetical system having palpable community with a Hebrew source—the Bactrian Palí—we are able to produce a

---

him to Péri to be brought up as the eventual successor to the throne of Dárabgerd; Péri accordingly adopted him (پری اردشیرا بسری بپذیرفت) and, on the vacancy occurring, Ardeshir duly obtained possession of the monarchy (MS. Royal Asiatic Society, No. 99).

nearly similar outline from among its lapidary figures, absolutely identical with the doubtful letter and strangely enough answering to the sound of S (Sanskrit S or SH.—See Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 264; Norris, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. p. 303).

I pass by the *king the son of*, and proceed to notice this version of the name of the father of Artaxerces, which, far from assisting in any definite determination of the doubtful designation, will be found really to add to the already existing confusion resulting from the want of the due expression of the letters in the preceding coin; we have here only four letters instead of five; and supposing the initial letter of the name to have been omitted by the carelessness of the mint engraver, of the existing four letters we read אכל, which so far, supposing the assumption that a letter has been omitted to be correct, confirms the obvious reading of two of the letters (א and ל) assigned on the evidence of the larger coin. The present substitution of a כ for an apparent ' would, however, sadly disturb any conjectural decyphering based on the isolated legend of the other piece. The final in the East India House coin is too indefinite to deserve a moment's attention.



## MISCELLANEA.

MR. PISTRUCCI ON THE WATERLOO MEDAL.\*—The following is the evidence of Mr. Pistrucci on the long looked for "Waterloo Medal," and the mechanical operation required in the striking of Medals generally.

I propose to call in person on Mr. Sheil, Master of the Mint, for the purpose of presenting to him my respects on the 1st day of January next year, 1849, and at the same time to place in his hands the two matrices of the great Waterloo Medal, given me to execute by the late Lord Maryborough when Master of the Mint, and on which I have employed the same diligence and perseverance which I have given to the most finished works which have issued from my hands. Inasmuch as I feel the greatest possible interest in the complete success of this work, unique, I may say, of its kind, for its dimensions and amount of labour, and on which I have spent a large portion of my life; and being most anxious that it should meet the public eye without delay, and without accident, I have taken the liberty to describe the method which I think ought to be followed in hardening the matrices, in polishing the table, and in striking the medal: this I have done without the most distant intention of offending any one, or of dictating in what is the especial concern of those who will have to direct these mechanical operations. I therefore beg leave to transmit the accompanying paper in reply to the second part of the first question. This was prepared by me on the 15th of last month.

*Notes and Observations of Benedetto Pistrucci on the best mode of hardening the Matrices of the Waterloo Medal, and also on other Mechanical operations which will be required for the successful striking of the Medals.*

No. 1.—In the first place each matrix must be turned, to make the neck for holding the collar (the shorter the neck the better); the edge also must be turned, to form the border of the medal; this must be done by a very skilful and experienced turner, one on whom the most perfect dependence may be placed, that he will do it *bonâ fide*; for an accident produced by carelessness or inattention might in one moment entirely destroy the whole work, and without remedy: in truth, I can hardly say which of the two gives me most uneasiness, this simple operation of

---

\* From the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Royal Mint Commission, December 1, 1848.

turning the matrices, or that of hardening them; for in the latter case a remedy might possibly be found for an accident, so as to save a good deal of work, perhaps all, by making punches.

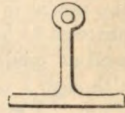
No. 2.—It will be necessary to make two preparatory matrices in order to bring up the metal on the blanks, where it would be required; and thereby save the original matrices as much as possible: these should only be used when the metal shall have been previously well distributed by the *preparatory* matrices, which matrices ought to be constructed exactly in the same manner as those in which I have engraved the work. I make this suggestion simply because I think they would harden better than if each was of one piece, and each piece should be hardened separately; we shall then be able to see the changes, if any, which may be occasioned by the hardening. Here my own experience fails me, and I can only imagine what may be the effect; unfortunately I have never had it in my power to make experiments of the kind, owing to circumstances not necessary here to explain. I would wish, too, that an experiment should be previously made with two other matrices similarly constructed, which might be hardened without being separated; and we should then see if the centres came out perfectly hard, of which I have some doubt; nevertheless, after experiments of this nature, a safe judgment may be formed as to the best mode of proceeding to harden the originals, on which so much long and laborious work has been employed.

Some one, perhaps, will say: But why did you have these matrices made in two pieces, and not of one piece, as all matrices have been made heretofore, for the striking of medals? My answer will be, that the world has never yet seen a medal struck with so much work upon it, nor of such great dimensions, viz., of more than five inches in diameter. The one in question has on it no less than sixty figures, large and small; and I am quite certain, in case it should meet with an accident, that no one could take a punch from it, if each matrix was of one piece; though this might be done, now that is in two, with as much ease at least as would be compatible with the complicated work; I would further observe that my own experience has taught me that the centre of a matrix is always the most difficult part to harden, even where the diameter is but of ordinary dimensions; I should therefore say that it is in the highest degree difficult, if not almost impossible, to make the due degree of hardening enter into the centre of a matrix, almost seven inches in diameter; and it is clear that if the centre is not duly hardened, when it comes to receive the blows of the press, it will give way, and the effect of the work would be entirely spoiled.

As I write these memoranda simply for my own satisfaction, and not pretending to instruct those whose business it is to



conduct operations of this nature, it neither being my duty to do it, nor being obliged to do it by my contract; I shall, however, proceed to put down on paper, without making any secret or mystery of it, the mode and means which I should adopt myself, in order to harden these two matrices with as much diligence and security as I could hope for. After I had made the experiments as above described, supposing that the separate hardening of the two pieces of each matrix proves to be successful, I would have an iron instrument made of this shape, which I would place in the centre of the ring, or outside piece, of the matrix before putting it in the iron pot, where it is to be imbedded in the animal charcoal, commonly called "hardening." This precaution I should take in consequence of the great weight and size of the matrix, nearly seven inches in diameter; which would render it otherwise extremely difficult and dangerous to take it out of the pot with sufficient rapidity, for it not to cool in its transit to the water; and also because the first impression or effect it would receive from the water would be by this contrivance much more *equal* than if the operator was to make use of the ordinary tongs, and there would be no danger of its slipping from the tongs. And in order to take it out of the pot with the same efficiency and security (without moving the pot itself, but merely taking the top off), I should pass an iron hook (with a long handle, about three feet long) through the hole of the instrument above described, and put the whole apparatus quite parallel into the water. The centre piece, which is of no great weight, might be taken out and hardened in the usual way. The mode I have always followed in hardening matrixes, whether for coins or for medals, has been to cover over the engraved surface, with a paste composed of wood, charcoal, and garlic, well pounded together in a mortar. In this way I have always preserved the matrixes from accidents which might occur, whether from the contact of the animal charcoal, or from that of the air, in their transit from the fire to the water; and the success has always been so complete, that the work has come out exactly as it was engraved, without the matrix being at all corroded by the fire, or oxygenated by the air. I do not pretend to teach any one what does not belong to my own art, or what is purely mechanical, but my experience of so many years—all, I confess, acquired since I have been in England—encourages me to believe that my opinion may be of some value in a business of this nature. I cannot on any account undertake to conduct these operations myself; it is much against my good will that I make this avowal; for I would willingly carry it on to the end with my own hands. But this great Waterloo medal has already



passed, for no fault of mine, through so many disadvantages, and it has caused me for a long series of years so many anxious thoughts, and so much intense study (connected too as it has been with the circumstances of the employments I have held in the Mint, and others), that I have no longer that confidence in myself, and in my own powers, which I should have had in operations of this nature, if I had continued to perform the duties of engraver in chief, and which I did possess, when I thought that, according to the promises held out to me, I should finish the medal in that employment. At that time it was my constant practice to harden with my own hands all the originals of coins as well as medals which were ordered of me by the Government, although I was bound by the duties of my office only to engrave them. I might adduce also many other reasons, and very strong ones too, arising from the change in my position in the Mint, which necessarily prevent me from reposing in others that full and entire confidence which ought to be given to those who would have to assist me in these various operations, some of which one man cannot do without help. The distribution of the presses, the rooms in which they are kept, the constant going to and fro of the workmen in these rooms; many of these being, as I have reason to believe, not well disposed towards me, nor likely to show much zeal in enabling me to produce a work which I flatter myself will secure to me the approbation of the Government; all these, and many other considerations, would make me apprehensive, and deprive me of that self-confidence which I have always hitherto had in every one of my former works. I therefore think it will be better for the public service that I should wash my hands of it, and leave what remains to be done in the hands of those to whom it belongs; and I feel assured that if they will use all necessary precautions, and give up for a time their whole mind and energies to this service, it will succeed in a manner to reflect honour upon the Mint, and will show what can be done by such a body of men when they are united. I am especially induced to feel confident of the result, from the fact that the two matrices are, I know, made of the very best steel; I have examined them over and over again, as much as human eye can do. In cutting into them, I have not discovered the smallest possible defect; and the observation was made when the hollow was cut out, to admit the centre piece, two three-quarter inches in diameter.

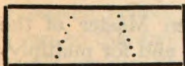
No. 3.—I would wish to say something on *the polishing of the field, or table* of the medal. This operation requires a workman of the greatest experience, and skill in polishing engraved matrices, one too in whom the most implicit confidence can be placed; for he may have it in his power to spoil all, by the very act of polishing



the outlines, as well as the interior of the work ; and I should wish to watch over him during this very important and delicate operation, in order to direct his proceedings, and to stop him if he is attempting to polish in a greater degree than is necessary at the first stage of the operation : the real polishing should only be given when the medals are in that state in which a single blow of the press is sufficient to complete them.

No. 4.—I cannot omit to take this opportunity to say a word on the subject of the presses now in the Mint, of the rooms in which they are placed, as also of the manner and degree of care which will be required when the medals are to be loosened from the matrices and collar, in order to prevent the possibility of any injury being done to the matrices while the medals are being struck, it being at all times well understood that the workman in charge of this operation is very well acquainted with and expert in his business. The workman in the Mint, Thomas Jerome, in whom I had implicit confidence, and who used to assist me, died two years ago.

The presses in the Mint applicable to strike medals are, I believe, three in number ; but they have never been made use of to strike medals of the diameter above named ; and, as when I received the commission to execute this medal, this difficult service was not provided for, but only talked of, as to be required at the time, now that the medal is finished, it will be necessary to think seriously about it. I believe that the diameter of the great screw now in use will be sufficient ; also that the impetus given by the fly and weights attached to it will be enough for the medal in question ; but I cannot vouch for it. It must also be observed that each of the matrices being in two pieces, viz., the centre and the ring, as is shown in the annexed section, it will be abso-



lutely necessary that the field or lower plain of the press should be mathematically true, and exactly parallel with the upper plain of the same, which will have to bear the great force of the screw in giving the blow : if not, the blow will force the centre out of its place ; and if this should occur, the matrices, one or both, will be instantly spoiled : this centre piece in each of the matrixes is in the slightest degree conical. An arrangement will also be necessary to spread the blow given by the nose of the screw equally over the whole surface of the medal. What press, then, it will be necessary to have for the striking of this large medal is a question which, in my capacity of Her Majesty's Chief Medalist, I do not, in truth, feel myself qualified to answer. I should have had more experience of this kind had I been continued in my first employment of chief engraver.

One of these presses is fixed in a room where the matrixes and

punches of the coins are usually multiplied, and adjoining to another in which they are hardened. It is also one of the dirtiest places in the Mint; this is owing to the furnaces which are lighted in it; the great quantity of dust from charcoal, coke, and common coals; also from the number of persons continually passing to and fro, from the studio or apartments of the chief engraver above the room, and also from those of the clerk of the irons, whose room is similarly situated. I would also observe, that from the moment that the press selected for this service shall be adjusted to the state of perfection which is required, such adjustment must not be, in the slightest possible degree, altered, until the medals shall have been all struck. Any other arrangement would probably lead to very great inconveniences and injuries; for if the Master of the Mint were to allow such press to be used from time to time for other public services, and thus the striking of the medal be subjected to occasional interruptions, plausible pretexts would not be wanting to act on such permission, and much mischief would ensue, and every thing would be put out of order, as, indeed, has frequently happened to me on other occasions. To exemplify this, it may be necessary to remind the reader that every medal will require a great many blows, and will frequently be taken from the press to be annealed, and on every such occasion the whole must be found exactly in *statu quo*; which could only be done after repeated trials if any alteration had been allowed in the arrangement of the press. These trials might injure the medals as well as the outlines of the engravings; and the more so as this press is now used night and day for the private medals manufactured by the chief engraver himself. It therefore seems to me useless to think of this press, which must also be the worse for wear for the many years it has been used to the chief engraver's profit.

The second press is one which Mr. Pole, when Master of the Mint, ordered to be made expressly for my use, and for multiplying the matrices and punches of the coins engraved by me, when I held the office of chief engraver. This was to enable me to make use of machinery in a state of perfection, and not injured by constant use in striking dies for the coins; and his intention was to place it in a room under my studio, but at the moment that it was brought almost to the door of my studio, all the officers of the Mint rose in opposition to the Master's orders, and he had the good nature to comply with their wishes; whereupon they replaced it in the turner's shop, where the matrices and all the dies are turned for striking the coins. Now, in the first place, this was a very dangerous spot for it, as there are always five or six workmen in the shop; secondly, it is at times the repository of all the punches and dies to be used for the coins; and, thirdly, it



is liable to be entered by other persons ; and, finally, it is a dirty place, ill kept ; five or six workmen eat their meals in it, the operations of turning the dies are carried on there, and the floor is strewn with the shavings ; any one of these, not bigger than a pin's head, might spoil a matrix while the medals were being struck. It would, therefore, I think, be difficult to use this press for the purpose in question ; it would, at least, require to be most minutely examined, and none should be admitted into the shop but those actually engaged in striking the medal, which would be almost impossible.

There is also in the Mint a third press, that which is called the Prussian press, which Mr. Wallace ordered from Berlin, by the advice of Messrs. Barton, Wyon, &c. ; but which after it had reached the Mint, and had been paid for at a cost of four or five times as much as an English press would have cost, has never, to my knowledge, been used at all, the workmen not liking it, or not being able to use it. It remained in this state for many years, but those who advised this useless expense becoming apprehensive that when Mr. Labouchere became Master of the Mint the Government would inquire into the circumstance, the officers of the Mint determined to place it in a room belonging to the moneyers, to give it an appearance of being in use ; but it was never used. At the time of the coronation of Her present Majesty I applied to Mr. Labouchere for permission to make use of it for the coronation medals. It was granted to me, and I used it with success, but I do not believe it has ever been used since that time, although during, I think, the administration of Mr. Labouchere's successor, the moneyers prevailed on the then Master of the Mint to order me to give up the key of the room in which it was kept, and they resumed the custody of it, to let it be covered with rust, and that it should remain idle. I do not, however, believe that it would be possible to apply this Prussian press to the service in question, owing to circumstances which I could explain on the spot.

The above is the result of many anxious reflections on the subject during the last four years, which I have devoted uninterruptedly to the completion of the medal.

Finally, I wish to impress on all to whom this may come, that the individual who is to be charged with the duty of striking the medals, besides being eminently expert and skilful in his business, must give his serious thoughts to the manner in which the medals, after the several blows to which they have been subjected, may most easily and safely be liberated from the matrices and from the collar. These matrices weigh about 20 pounds each, and they must be raised perpendicularly every time that a medal is put under the press. If the utmost care is not taken in conducting

this part of the operation, it may happen that the outlines of the figures may be scratched or abraded, and minute fragments of the matrix will stick to the medal. This may occur either from carelessness of the workman, or from the adoption of an imperfect mode of releasing the medal from the matrix. There is no undercutting whatever throughout my work, and of this I can give proofs, if required, before I part with it. Again and again I recommend the importance, in separating the matrix from the medal, of not forcing it more on one side than on the other; the force must be perfectly equal and perpendicular,

I think I have now expressed all that occurs to me of importance on this subject; and I hope that God will grant me the consolation of seeing my great and laborious work happily struck and represented on a medal; likewise that Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Government, and the public in general, will see it precisely as I have engraved it.

P.S. I forgot to say that I should very much prefer that the medals should be struck, if possible, without preparatory dies; and that the dies which I have recommended above should only be made use of for experiments in hardening. I have offered the suggestion mainly from a feeling of anxiety to secure the very best mode of proceeding, if it should be found necessary.

What duties do you consider will remain for you to perform in the Royal Mint after the final completion of the Waterloo medal? —When I shall have placed, as above, the two matrices of the medal in the hands of the Master of the Mint, I consider that I return to the position in the Mint in which I was placed by the arrangement proposed and signed by the Right Honourable William Tierney, Master of the Mint in the year 1828, which constituted me his then Majesty's chief medallist in the Royal Mint, with a salary of 350*l.* a year, and by which, as far as I recollect the terms and spirit of it, I was to hold myself in readiness to execute any medals which should be ordered of me by any departments of the British Government, and for which I was to be compensated according to the scale of what had been previously paid to me for other works. I was also to bring up a pupil in my art, which I continued to do until I was deprived of a portion of my salary; but which I am ready to do now, if it should be required of me.



DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN THE FOREST OF DEAN.—Some workmen, whilst digging out the earth for the foundation of a house near Coleford, in the Forest of Dean, in the winter of 1847, struck into five Roman Urns of coarse pottery. Upon examination of the contents of these urns, they were found to consist of a large quantity of third brass Roman coins, of the Emperors Valerian, Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, and the Empress Salonina. As only a small portion of the coins has been cleared of ærugo, with which all were much covered, possibly coins of other Emperors, about the period of the Emperors above named, may be amongst the find. Amongst the coins of Gallienus were the following reverses:—*A stag* in different positions,—legend, *Dianae Cons*: *Aug*:—*Centaur*,—legend, *Apollini Cons*: *Aug*:—*Panther*,—legend, *Libero (p. Cons Aug)*—*Antelope(?)*.—There were not any other coins mixed with these third brass class. Several hundreds of the coins fell into the hands of Ambrose Perry, Esq., who now possesses them; the rest, supposed to amount with the above, to about 5000, were carried away by the workmen, and dispersed.

---

\_\_\_\_\_

Original from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



## CORRESPONDENCE.

- G. L.—It is much to be regretted that the place of finding of your coin is not known. Authenticated accounts of the finding of British coins are very desirable. Your example was probably found in Sussex.
- CRITO.—It can scarcely be denied, that the Gaulish moneyers adapted as well as adopted types. The Gauls adopted exotic divinities, of which we have both monumental and historical evidence. Cæsar expressly says, "*Deum Mercurium maxime colunt*," and this may explain why we find the Caduceus on the minute thin coins discovered on the site of the ancient camp at Amboise (Revue Numismatique Francoise, Tome II. planche VII. fig. 16). Probably the worship of Mercury by the Gauls, dates from the first irruption of that people into Italy. Observing the statues of Mercury in the open air they would very naturally conclude that it was the tutelar divinity of the invaded country.
- B.—A coin the family Calpurnia has the figure of Victory holding a torques, and the head of Rome on the coins of Manlia, is placed within the same object.
- Δ.—A coin of Gades of frequent occurrence. See "Ancient coins of Cities and Princes, pl. 4, fig. 22." A coin of Carteia also common. Idem, pl. 3, fig. 8.
- VIATOR.—There are collections of coins at Cambridge, and at Trinity College, Dublin. There is also the collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, to which the late Mr. Donce bequeathed his coins.
- W.—An East Indian *Fanam*, of no value whatever. Our correspondent runs great risk in forwarding his coins by post.
- R.—We returned your coin by the next day's post. Enquiry shall be made of the Post Office authorities. The piece is exactly like that engraved in Ruding, pl. ii. fig. 6. *This announcement may prevent the disposal of it by the rogue who stole both that and your letter.*

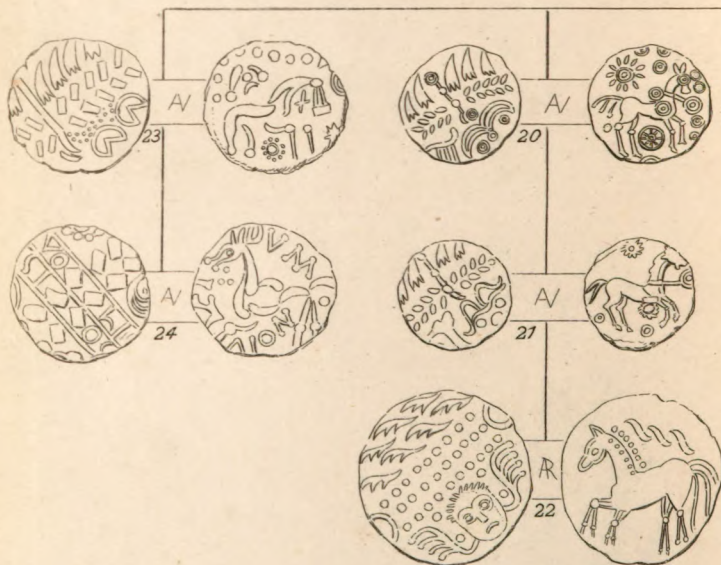




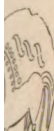
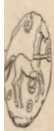


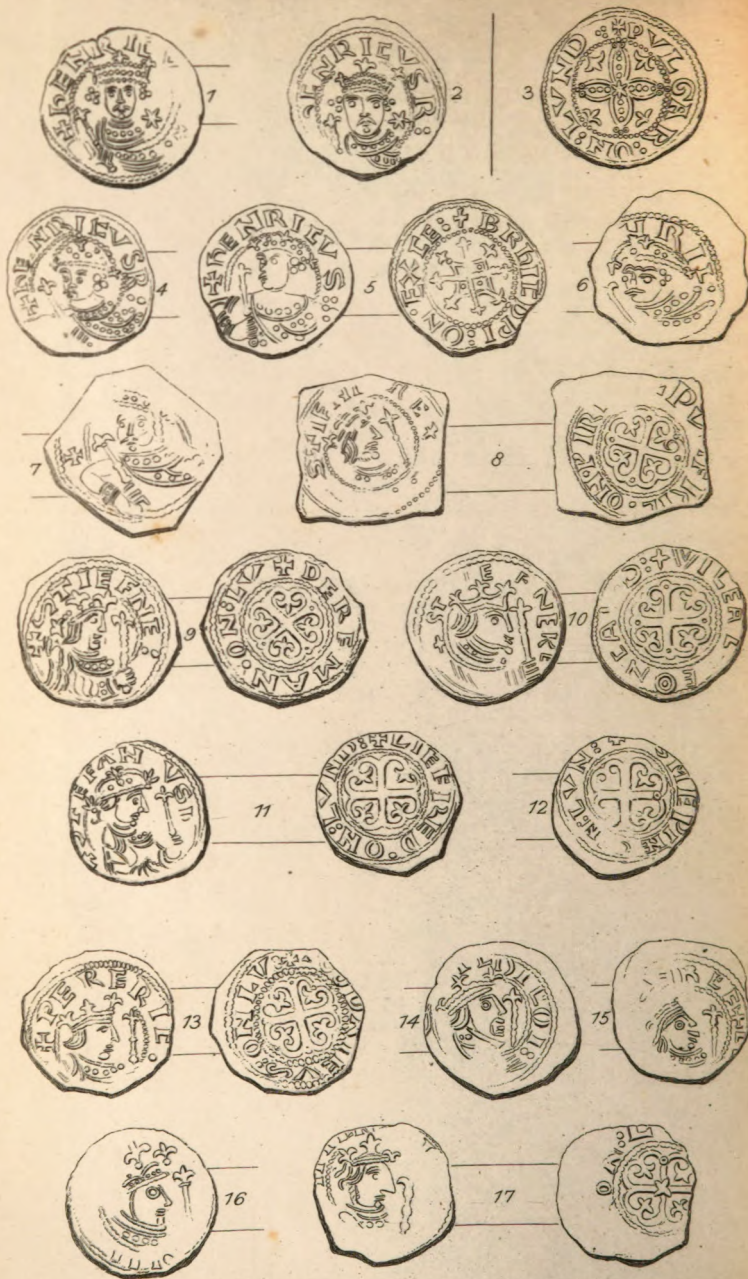
# DERIVATION OF SOME TYPES

## ON BRITISH COINS.









J.R. del.

PENNIES OF HENRY I AND OF STEPHEN.

H.A. Ogg. sculp.



## XIII.

## ON THE DATE OF BRITISH COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 22, 1849.]

I AM well aware that the question concerning the origin of a coinage in Britain, has already attracted the notice and investigation of many eminent men, whose judicious and erudite labours have so far exhausted the subject, as to leave little hope for any future gleaner in the same field. Nevertheless, I cannot suppress my conviction, that, in the attempts hitherto made to determine this question, hardly sufficient attention has been paid, either to the direct testimony of ancient authors, with the exception of Cæsar; or to what may be deduced from the history of the early commerce of this country; or to what may be termed the pedigree of those British coins whose dates may, with comparative certainty, be determined.

I shall, in the present paper, endeavour to prove from these sources, that a currency of coined money must, of necessity, have existed in some parts of this island before the time of Cæsar's invasion.

The main grounds for an opposite opinion, are no less than what are usually considered the words of Cæsar himself<sup>1</sup>—"Utuntur aut nummo æreo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummis"—backed by two passages in Cicero's Epistles<sup>2</sup>—"In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri, neque argenti"—and again,<sup>3</sup> "Neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illâ insula."

<sup>1</sup> Bell. Gall. v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ad. Fam. vii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. ad. Att. iv. 16.

From these authorities, it has been concluded by some that the Britons, at the time of Cæsar's arrival among them, had no coinage of their own, and were wholly destitute both of gold and silver. But on close examination, it will, I think, appear, that this conclusion is incorrect, for both the epistles above quoted are written in a very jocose style; and the "nihil," and "neque scrupulum," must be regarded as hyperbolic; indeed, Cicero himself, with an "id si ita est," expresses his doubt of the truth of his assertion. So that the only inference that can fairly be drawn from these two passages is, that gold and silver were far scarcer in Britain than the amount of these metals acquired by the Romans in their conquest of Gaul had led them to expect.

The passage in Cæsar has already been attacked, and to my mind successfully, by Mr. Hawkins,<sup>4</sup> who shews, on the authority of some of the best ancient MSS., that the use of gold is expressly mentioned by him. But, under any circumstances, this passage can only be a negative argument against the hypothesis of gold and silver having been current in Britain at that time, as it does not directly deny that such was the case; and, at all events, Cæsar's assertion cannot in any way apply to that part of the country which he never visited, and with which he was totally unacquainted.<sup>5</sup>

If, however, the vanquished Britons were devoid of money worthy the name, what could have induced Cæsar to lay a yearly tribute upon them, and to settle "quid in annos singulos vectigalis P. R. Britannia penderet"?<sup>6</sup> That a money payment was here intended, appears from

<sup>4</sup> Num. Chron. i. 13, *et seq.*; Eng. Silver Coins, p. 18, *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Bell. Gall. iv. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Bell. Gall. v. 22.; Conf. Dion. Cass. lib. xi.; et Eutrop. Brev. vi. 17.



the word "vectigal" being employed, a word, I believe, that is never used thus absolutely, except as having a reference to money. Suetonius, indeed, distinctly affirms that he demanded money—"pecunias et obsides imperavit":<sup>7</sup> and Cicero, writing on the same subject at the very time of its occurrence, uses the words, "imperatâ pecuniâ."<sup>8</sup> That this money was actually paid, we may gather from Diodorus,<sup>9</sup> though it appears soon afterwards to have been commuted for duties levied on the commerce between Gaul and Britain.<sup>10</sup>

Now, although some have imagined that the Britons commenced coining money on purpose to pay this tribute, an imagination not worth refuting, the passages cited cannot but induce us to suppose that they possessed the wherewithal to pay a money-tax, at the time such a tax was imposed on them by Cæsar.

But what say the ancient historians as to the presence of gold and silver in this country? "Fert Britannia aurum et argentum pretium victoriæ," says Tacitus;<sup>11</sup> *Φέρει δὲ σίτον καὶ βοσκήματα, καὶ χρυσὸν, καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ σίδηρον*, says Strabo;<sup>12</sup> and Solinus<sup>13</sup> speaks of the "metallorum largam variamque copiam, quibus Britannia solum undique generum pollet." He also instances<sup>14</sup> the Silures as not employing money, but simply barter, which implies, that in this respect they differed from the inhabitants of some other parts of this country. Mela likewise mentions<sup>15</sup> the inhabitants of the interior as becoming more ignorant of other riches than flocks and territory, as they receded farther from the continent, from which we must infer, that "other

<sup>7</sup> In Vit. Jul. Cæs. xxv.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. ad. Att. iv. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. vi.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, lib. ii. p. 116, ed. 1620; lib. iv. p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> Agric. xii.

<sup>12</sup> Lib. iv. p. 199.

<sup>13</sup> Cap. xxxi. *sec. alios.* xxxv.

<sup>14</sup> *Ut supra.*

<sup>15</sup> Lib. iii. c. 3.

riches" were known to the inhabitants of the southern coast. It may, indeed, be urged, that these writers are all of them later than Cæsar; yet it is to be observed, that the information upon which some of them wrote was derived from earlier sources, and that not one of them treats the presence of gold and silver in the island as of recent date, or appears to have had the remotest conception, that in Cæsar's time it was destitute of them.

Let us now see what view of the subject the history of the early commerce of this country would naturally lead us to take. About the year 600 B.C., the Phœnicians of Carthage,<sup>16</sup> and her colonies in Spain, commenced their commerce with the Cassiterides, and probably with Britain, and carried it on exclusively by barter. The commerce of the Greeks of Marseilles with these islands dates some 300 years later, and seems to have been carried on for some time in the same manner. About 200 B.C., the second Punic War, and the consequent abandonment of their colonies in Spain by the Carthaginians, appears to have put an end to their trade with Britain, and to have left its commerce in the hands of their Greek competitors. It was, perhaps, a consequence of the uncertainty entailed upon the navigation of the Mediterranean by these wars, that the merchants of Marseilles, about this time, gave up their direct intercourse with Britain by sea, and thenceforward carried on their trade overland through Gaul. This system diverted the commerce of Britain eastward from its first seat on the coast of Cornwall; the tin being now brought to the Isle of Wight,<sup>17</sup> and thence transported to the coast of Gaul; whence, by a thirty days' journey, it was borne on horses to the mouth of the Rhone.

<sup>16</sup> For this account I am principally indebted to Henry's Great Britain, book i. c. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.



The result was, that, by degrees, nearly the whole of the trade fell into the hands of Gaulish merchants, who, for various reasons, were better adapted than the Greeks for carrying on a traffic of this kind through their own country, and who thus formed a connecting link between the rude inhabitants of Britain and the flourishing cities of Marseilles and Narbonne.

Now, while this commerce was confined to the Phœnicians and Greeks, it was, no doubt, as easy as it was politic for them to keep the Britons, a barbarous people, with whom they had nothing in common, in ignorance of the use of money, and to obtain their valuable commodities in exchange for trumpery wares. But with the Gauls and Britons it was far otherwise: of kindred race—speaking the same language—with the same institutions, manners, and religion—the advances in knowledge and civilisation, made by the one people, must speedily have been communicated to the other. And this becomes the more apparent, when we consider, that in addition to the intercourse of trade, a connexion of a far closer kind existed between the two nations, Britain being regarded by the Gauls as the birth-place of their religion,<sup>18</sup> whither, even in far later times, their more learned Druids resorted for the completion of their education.

But the Gauls, at the time of their maintaining this commerce with the Britons, were acquainted with the use of money, which they had probably learned from the Greeks of Marseilles, whose coins, and especially the Philippi in circulation among them, they rudely imitated. We have, therefore, every reason to believe, that they must have communicated this knowledge to the Britons; and if this were actually the case, it is to that part of this country

---

<sup>18</sup> Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

whither they principally traded (that is to say, to the counties adjoining the Isle of Wight) that we must look for the discovery of the earliest specimens of British coins; which should also, on this hypothesis, be struck on a Gaulish or Grecian model. If, on the contrary, it was not till after Cæsar's invasion that money was struck in this island, it would most probably be in Kent—according to his account the most civilised part of the country, and that most subject to Roman influence—that they would be found; and if so, we should expect them to shew traces of a Roman origin.

There are, however, but few British coins on which evidences of a Roman descent are apparent, and these are principally of the time of Cunobeline. We have, on the contrary, a large variety, I might almost say a majority, of British types which, on careful examination, may be traced to one common origin, and whose prototype is evidently a rude imitation of the Greek, or, more probably, Gaulish Philippus.<sup>19</sup> This prototype has, on the obverse, a rude laureated head; and, on the reverse, a horse, not unfrequently with eight legs, and generally with the remains of a Victory and chariot behind it. It is, I believe, most frequently found in the counties adjoining the Isle of Wight, though occasionally occurring in Kent and Surrey. It is, at any rate, certain that some of the closest imitations of it are commonly discovered in Dorsetshire and Sussex. Coins of this type in gold generally weigh from 115 to 117 grains; and we find this weight being gradually decreased in its descendants, till, in the time of Cunobeline, it is reduced to from 82 to 84 grains. So that the weight alone would be nearly sufficient to prove its

---

<sup>19</sup> Ruding, pl. i. 17—21.



superior antiquity to any other type; it being almost universally the case, that the earlier coins of any country are heavier than those of more recent date, though of the same denomination.

I will now proceed to show how, from this prototype, by means of successive imitations of imitations, a number of new and totally distinct types arose, until their original was quite lost sight of. In doing this, however, I cannot present you with the exact numismatic succession of the types, but can only exhibit such specimens of the coins as have come down to our times as may enable you, without much difficulty, to trace the transition. It will be found of service to remember that these apparent changes are partly owing to the dies having increased in size through successive copying, while the flan having rather diminished than otherwise, a part only of the impression of the die is to be found upon the coins; as is the case with some of the Indian rupees,<sup>20</sup> on which not above one-third of the inscription on the die appears. No. 2 on the accompanying sketch is an apparently rather late variety of the prototype, its weight being only  $103\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and its size considerably smaller than that of heavier specimens. From this to No. 3 the transition is easy; but the weight is diminished to  $91\frac{1}{2}$  grains. On No. 4, the leaves of the wreath proceed in opposite directions from the centre, and the type shews a tendency to assume a cruciform appearance: the weight is again diminished to  $87\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Some of the coins lately discovered on Whaddon Chase are very similar to this, but the remains of the clothing of the neck are more apparent, and some of the crescent-shaped figures representing the front hair are to be seen in the quarter shaded in the

---

<sup>20</sup> Ruding, Supp. pl. t. 6.

sketch. Their weight is from 88 to 90 grains.<sup>21</sup> On No. 5, we have the wreath crossed by another, at right angles; but, to mark its descent, it still retains two locks of its prototype's back hair in one of the compartments formed by the cross, while in another we may observe the clothing of the neck, and in a third one of the crescent-shaped representatives of the front hair. On No. 6, the origin of the type is still apparent, there being locks of hair in each of the compartments. No. 7 is a somewhat similar type, evidently derived from the same origin, the wreath shewing the outline of the jaw, being slightly curved, the dress of the neck being represented by a Y-shaped figure, and one of the crescent-shaped ornaments apparently doing duty as an eye, as vestiges of an outline of a nose and forehead may be perceived. The reverse of this coin is also remarkable, as showing traces of both the head and hind-legs of the second horse of the biga. Its weight is  $85\frac{1}{2}$  grains. On No. 8, the laureated head is reduced to a regular cruciform pattern, and on the reverse is the legend TASCIAV; and from this we arrive at No. 9, which is the perfect Verulam type of Tasciovanus, with the four converging branches, and the letters VER between them. The weight of this specimen is 84 grains, about which point it appears to have become fixed.

We have here then some sort of date from which, although it cannot itself be accurately ascertained, we may argue back as to the probable age of the prototype. Although we cannot exactly fix the year of Cunobeline's death, or the length of his reign, it is certain that he was a contemporary of Augustus, whom he probably did not

---

<sup>21</sup> There were also in this find a few similar to Ruding, i. 9, weighing about 95 grains, and, no doubt, of earlier date than the bulk.



survive many years, and that the multitude and variety of his coins will justify us in assigning him a lengthened reign. We cannot, therefore, greatly err in assuming Holinshed's assertion, that it commenced in the nineteenth year of Augustus, that is to say, B.C. 13, or forty-one years after Cæsar's second invasion, as correct. Now if, according to Mr. Birch's theory, the coins bearing TASCIA, TASCIAV, etc., as their only legend, are to be assigned to Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobeline, it is probable that they were struck previously to this date. But the reign of Tasciovanus, to judge by his coins, must, like that of Cunobeline, have extended over no small number of years, and may not unfairly be considered to have commenced from ten to fifteen years after Cæsar's invasion. On No. 8, as well as on Nos. 12 and 13, of the sketch, we have the name of this prince; and of these No. 8, at all events, from the number of intervening varieties between it and No. 9, must have been struck towards the commencement of his reign. I will, therefore, appeal to the reason of any one, whether it is possible for the utter change of type, weight, and workmanship, from No. 2 to Nos. 8,<sup>22</sup> 12, and 13, to have taken place in so short a time as that between Cæsar's invasion and the accession of Tasciovanus, or even of Cunobeline; and that, too, in defiance of the efforts of each successive moneyer to imitate the coins already in circulation. It must, on the contrary, be evident, that a considerable length of time must have elapsed to have produced such strange metamorphoses; so that I think we shall be fully justified in assuming, that the prototype from which they were derived was introduced into Britain at that period to which history would seem to point, viz., soon after the commence-

<sup>22</sup> There is a coin of Eppillus, evidently derived from the same origin, and somewhat resembling No. 3 (*vide* Stukeley, pl. xx. 3).

ment of the Græco-Gaulish commerce with this country, or, at a rough estimate, B.C. 150.

I will not occupy your time by tracing the pedigrees of the other types given in the sketch, as I trust they are sufficiently obvious. I think, however, that they will prove of some assistance towards classifying and arranging the uninscribed varieties of British coins.

It is much to be regretted, that we have not, at present, sufficient facts at our command as to the localities where coins of any particular type are principally found, to trace the progress of the art of coining through the country, or to observe what influence the invasion of the Belgæ may have had upon it. Much, however, may be done by carefully observing and recording any fresh discoveries of British coins; and I have but little doubt, that if this be properly done, we shall, before many years are over, be able to attain a much clearer insight into the subject.

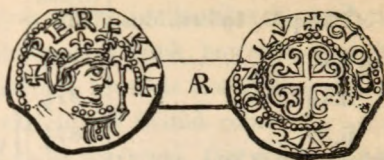
Thus far I may observe at present, that the coins generally recede farther from the prototype as the places of their discovery recede from the southern coast—as, for instance, the Yorkshire and Norfolk types, Nos. 24 and 16; and that in the south-western counties the workmanship of the coins appears continually to have deteriorated; while in the south-eastern and eastern, after declining for a time, it again improves, probably through the introduction of foreign artists, till, under Cunobeline, it attains its highest perfection.

J. EVANS.



## REFERENCE TO PLATE.

No.	Metal	Authority.	Weight.	Where Found.
			Grains.	
1	AV.	Stater of Philip II. In Brit. Mus.	132	
2	AV.	Ruding, i. 15 .....	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	
3	AV.	„ i. 14 .....	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	
4	AV.	„ ii. 39 .....	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	{ Similar at Whaddon Chase.
5	AV.	{ Stukeley's Brit. Coins, xix. 3 } { (Coll. of Mr. J. T. Lockyer), }	—	
6	AV.	Smith's Coll. Ant. lvi. 4 (Meus).	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	Farley Heath.
7	AV.	Ruding, A. 95; N. Jour. i. 225, 9.	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	High Wycombe.
8	AV.	„ A. 94; „ „ i. 225, 8.	83 $\frac{1}{4}$	
9	AV.	„ A. 100; „ „ i. 91 ..	84	Old Sarum.
10	AV.	Num. Chron. iii. 153, 2 .....	—	Dorchester; Oxon.
11	AV.	„ „ ii. 231, 1 .....	17	
12	AV.	Rud. Ap. xxix. 8; Akerm. xxii. 5.	—	
13	AV.	N. Chron. iii. 153, 1; Ak. xxii. 4.	84	Rome.
14	AV.	Ruding, iv. 1; Hawkins, ii. 19 ...	82 $\frac{3}{4}$	
15	AR.	Num. Chron. i. 90, 20 .....	19	March; Cambr.
16	AV.	Rud. A. 87; Hawk. i. 2; N. J. i. 224.	82	Oxnead; Norfolk.
17	AV.	{ Num. Chron. vii. 16 (Proceed.); } { Akerman, xxi. 13. .... }	83	Alfriston; Sussex.
18	EL.	Rud. A. 81; Hawk. i. 7; N. J. i. 223.	—	Frome.
19	AV.	Ruding, iv. 3 .....	80 $\frac{3}{4}$	
20	AV.	„ i. 16 .....	20	
21	AV.	Num. Chron. i. 88, 8 .....	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	Near Chichester.
22	AR.	Rud. iii. 43; Stukeley, i. 8 .....	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	
23	AV.	„ i. 11 .....	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	
24	AV.	„ A. 83; Hawk. i. 8; N. J. i. 223.	84	Yorkshire.
25	AV.	„ A. 93; Num. Journ. i. 225.	83	
26	BIL.	Meus .....	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	Devonshire (?).
27	AV.	Ruding, A. 89; N. Journ. i. 224.	83	



## XIV.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF A COLLECTION OF COINS  
OF HENRY I. AND STEPHEN, DISCOVERED IN  
HERTFORDSHIRE, IN 1818.

By J. RASHLEIGH, Esq.

As the circumstances connected with the discovery of these coins is involved in so much obscurity, from their having been taken from their hiding-place as far back as the year 1818, and from the unwillingness of the original possessor (who is now dead) to give any information on the subject,<sup>1</sup> we must remain satisfied with the fact, that here the

---

<sup>1</sup> The story, if it can be depended upon, as gleaned from various quarters, is the following. In the year 1818, as some labourers were digging in a field, in the neighbourhood of Watford, they turned up about a dozen small silver coins. These they carried to the watch-makers of Watford; but, not being able to find a purchaser, they took them to their employer, who bought them for a trifling sum. Immediate search was then made to ascertain if more coins lay buried, and almost the



coins are, and that they have been preserved to the present time unscattered and unmelted; so that a description can be made of the hoard (almost, if not quite, entire) in the state in which it was disinterred. It is much to be wished, for the better advancement of numismatic science (which may greatly assist and illustrate history), that hoards of coins should *in no instance* be scattered, until an accurate and minute description of every coin has been taken; and if the numismatists previous to the last ten or fifteen years, as well as many of the present time, had observed this rule, information connected with our ancestors' circulating medium would have advanced much more satisfactorily and accurately than it has done.

These coins are said to have been found about ten or twelve inches below the surface of the ground, and to have been deposited in a rude jar, which had been made of clay, and apparently baked only in the sun. The jar was shattered to pieces by the stroke of the spade; but some of the pieces have been joined together, sufficiently to shew its shape and dimensions. The diameter of the base is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the height of what still exists is about 5 inches. The top (if it ever had one) is altogether lost, and had probably been broken and scattered by the passing and re-passing of the plough some years before the coins attracted notice.

The total number of coins in the hoard was 1094 whole and 33 halves of pennies; namely, of William II., 1 half penny; of Henry I., 456 whole and 21 half pennies; of Stephen, 631 whole and 11 half pennies; also 6 which

---

first dig of the spade broke into a hollow space, which proved to be an earthenware jar, containing a great number of coins; and, on further search being made, the whole of those here described were, in course of time, disinterred.

are supposed to be baronial coins struck during Stephen's reign. This number is, probably, nearly *all* that were found.<sup>2</sup> Out of the whole number, about 600 and upwards have been doomed to the melting pot, because they have little or no legend, and but the smallest part of the type discernible. Most of the coins, however, appear, from their weight, to have been but little in circulation, and parts of some of those which are worst struck are as sharp as if just from the die; but, again, some bear the marks of much wear, especially those from the Winchester mint.

If so large a number of coins of Henry I. and Stephen were placed before any numismatist, he would at first conclude, that amongst them there must occur, if not some new, at least many of the numerous known types of these kings. But such is not the case here; for, amongst the whole, there are of Henry I. but two, and those well-known types, namely, Hawkins, 255, 262; and of Stephen only one type, and that the most common, namely, Hawkins, 270. Also the few coins which do not bear Henry's or Stephen's name are yet of the same type as those of the latter monarch. These last are supposed to be some of the coins which history tells us were struck in great numbers by Stephen's discontented barons, but of which no specimen has hitherto been clearly

<sup>2</sup> There are many legendary reports about the whole mass having been forwarded to the British Museum, and, after *only ten* had been selected, the rest returned. Again, that the clergyman, and other people of the town of Watford, had a pick at them, etc., etc., etc. But the rarity and fine condition of many of the coins are sufficient proofs that a knowing numismatist never before had the option of selecting from, *nor even had a sight of*, the whole mass. It is, however, probable, that a few were picked up by the workmen, and sold to some of the numerous collectors and dealers, who flocked to Watford at the report of the discovery.



made out; they are, therefore, perhaps the most interesting part of the whole discovery. For, as two of them are extremely fine, and the legend very perfect, there can be little doubt of the correct appropriation of at least these to this class. I may here remark, that, in each of the above different types, there is a very great variety, both in the shape of the crown, in the size of the face and bust (see the plate, Nos. 1 and 2), in the character and expression (if such rude work can convey any expression) of the countenance, and also in the shape and thickness of the letters which form the legend.

With regard to the time of the secretion of these coins, there can be no doubt that they were buried during the reign of Stephen; but about what year is very uncertain; though I think, from the appearance of the coins, it must have been in the early part of his reign, and not improbably during the disturbed year 1140 (see William of Malmesbury's account of this year).

The fact of so large a number of Stephen's coins, of only one type, having been found in company with coins of Henry I. is interesting, as it proves almost beyond a doubt, that *this type was THE FIRST one issued by Stephen*; and, as some of them are much worn, and they bear the names of more than thirty mints, situated in widely-distant parts of the country, we may conclude that, *for several years, up to the time of this deposit* (perhaps from 1135 to, at least, 1140?), *this was THE ONLY type in circulation*; and that all the other numerous types which are known to have issued from his mints, as well as those coins said to have been struck during his reign by Bishop Henry, Earl Robert, Stephen and Matilda, and Eustace, were struck at a time subsequent to this deposit: otherwise, some of these rarities would surely have been found amongst this

numerous collection. If, therefore, we could with any certainty ascertain the year of the deposit, it would be important, inasmuch as it would confine the time of the coinage of these last-mentioned rare and interesting coins to a definite part of Stephen's reign, and thus help us to learn more clearly the occasion on which they were struck.

The two types of Henry I. which are found in this hoard do not help us to arrive at a similar satisfactory conclusion about the position, as to the time of coinage, which they ought to hold amongst the numerous types of this king. But, though the position of their coinage is uncertain, this collection suggests the great probability that *these two types were those which remained latest in general circulation*. For had any of the other known types been much, or at all, current at the time of this deposit, some of them would surely have found their way into this numerous and extensively minted collection. It is to be observed, that many of the type Hawkins, 255, bear marks of having been some time in circulation; but, Hawkins, 263, are most of them as fine and sharp as if they had lately issued from the mint. So that, though the former (Hawkins, 255) remained one of the latest in circulation, it is not improbable that it was one of the earliest struck. For the reverse so much resembles that of William I. or II. (Hawkins, 238), one half penny of which was found with this hoard, that according to the accepted mode of giving precedence to types, we cannot place them very far apart; and this opinion is supported by the fact, that, even previous to this discovery, this type was the commonest and most worn of all Henry's money.

In the lists which are here subjoined, the moneyers' names and the mints are connected as on the coins. It is



remarkable how very rarely any coins of these reigns are found either perfectly struck or in good condition. The legend of each variety is given below; but, that this list may not deceive collectors, and make them think better of the coins than they deserve, it is well to warn them, that in some cases, where the legend can be entirely made out (though imperfectly), the type of the coin is either quite effaced, or not at all struck up; and again, where the portrait is fine, the legend is entirely gone or ill struck. So that a specimen which, when described on paper, appears to be good (because all, or most, of the letters can, though with difficulty, be made out), is in reality so bad that it has been handed over to the melting pot. However, no variety of moneyer or mint has been altogether destroyed. For, after a selection had been made for my own cabinet, one of *every variety* was chosen for our national collection; and several of the best of the remainder have been reserved to be scattered amongst friends and private collectors.

## SUMMARY OF THE COINS.

	TYPE.	No. of Whole Pennies.	No. of Halves of Pennies.	Total of Whole and Half Pennies.
WILLIAM II.	Hawkins, Plate xviii. 238.....	—	1	1
HENRY I....	{ Num. Chron., Plate, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7..... }	398	21	419
	{ Hawkins, Plate xx. 255 ..... }			
" " ....	{ Num. Chron., Plate, Nos. 1, 2, 3 ..... }	58	—	58
	{ Hawkins, Plate xx. 262 ..... }			
STEPHEN....	{ Num. Chron., Plate, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 .. }	632	11	643
	{ Hawkins, Plate xxi. 270 ..... }			
BARONIAL ..	{ Num. Chron., Plate, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, }	6	—	6
	{ and the Wood-cut ..... }			
Total .....		1,094	33	1,127

The legends of each type will now be given successively, and after each list some of the peculiarities noticed.

### WILLIAM II. (?)

TYPE, Hawkins, 238; Ruding, pl. i. 10.

CAMBRIDGE.

Obv. +PIL—ANI      Rev. —R ON GRAN

From this single half penny no conclusive argument can be drawn as to which of the two Williams it belongs. It might possibly have been kept in currency, by mistake for the similar reverse type of Henry I. All that can be said of it is, that it *may* help to strengthen other evidence tending to prove that the coins with the two stars belong to the second William. This, and all the other half pennies, had been intentionally cut, so as to be current for half the penny. There were no pennies found *cut* into quarters, though there were many *broken* pieces which might have represented farthings.

### HENRY I.

TYPE, Hawkins, 255; Ruding, pl. ii. fig. 6.

NOTE.—The mints and moneyers marked \* are not mentioned by Ruding; and those marked † occur on coins in this collection of both Henry I. and Stephen.

#### BRISTOL.†

<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>
+PENRIEVS:	+RIELARD:	ON . RIS
+PENRIEVS:	+TVREPIIL:*	. . . BR..

#### CANTERBURY.†

2 +PENR. EVS	AGPEMVND*	—: EAN:
6 +P. . . . .	+RODBE . .	. N EAND
+PENRIEV:	. . . BERD:	—: EAN
3 +. . NRIEV.	. . . . RT:	— EAN:
PEN. . . . .	RODBERT	. . . . .
. . . RIEVS	. . . AI	— EAN
. . . : . . .	. . . FPIN	— EAN



<i>Obverse.</i>		CHESTER.†	<i>Reverse.</i>
+	ÐENRIEVS:	+AILMA . *	. —: EESTR
2	+ÐEN..EVS:	+TþVRB . . N:*	ONCES
<hr/>			
		St. EDMUNDSBURY.†	
	+ÐENRIEV .	. . LEBERT*†	— EDMVN
<hr/>			
		EXETER.*†	
4	+ÐENRIEVS:	+BRÐIEDPI:*	— EXLE:
	+ÐENRIEVS	BR . . . . .	. . EXCES:
	+ÐENRIE . .	. AWI:*	—: EXCES:
2	ÐENRIEVS R	. . ELÐI:*	—: EX . .
<hr/>			
		GLOUCESTER.†	
	+ . . . . .	+ALFPINE:	— GLOE
	. EN . EVS	+R . DBERT:	—: GLOE:
2	+ÐENRIEVS:	+SAPINE:*	—: GLOPE
	. . . . .	+WI . . . D	—: GLO .
<hr/>			
		HEREFORD.†	
	+ÐENRIEVS:	+EDRIEVS†	— ÐERE
2	+ÐENRIEVS:	+ . SÆRID:†	—: ÐEREF:
<hr/>			
		IPSWICH.†	
4	+ . . . . .	OSBERN:†	—: GIPE:
<hr/>			
		LINCOLN.†	
	+ÐEN . . . . .	+ARN . I*†	— . . IC . . E
	. . NRIEVS	. . SLAE*	— N.E
	. . . R . . .	. . . . ED	. . ICOL
3	ÐEN . . . . .	. . . . .	. . NICOL:
	. . . . .	+ . . . . .	—: NICO:
<hr/>			
		LONDON.†	
6	+ÐENRIEVS:	+ÆDGAR:†	. —: LVNDE
3	+ÐE . . IEV:	+ÆDGAR:	—: LVND
	+Ð . NR . . VS	+A . . . . .	— LVN
12	+ÐENRIEVS	BALDEPIN:†	—: LVN*:

## LONDON—continued.

<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>	
	+ DENRIE ..	. ALDEPINE	..
2	+ DENRIE ..	BALDEPINE	— LVN
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ BRDEMAR*†	— LV:
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ BRIDMAR	..: LVN
	.. NRID:	. RI . M ..	..: LVN
9	+ DENRIEVS	+ DEREMANRI:*†	—: LVN
10	+ DENRIEVS	+ DEREMANR:	—: LVN
2	+ D . . . . . S	+ DEREMAN:R:	— L..
	+ D . . RIEVS	+ DERMANR:	— LVND:
13	+ DENRIEVS	+ DEREMAN:†	— LVN
	DE . . . E	+ DERMAN	—
	+ DENRIEVS	+ EASTMVND:*	— LVN
6	+ DENRIEVS	+ ESTMVND†	— LVN
	+ D . . RI . . .	+ ES . . . ND	— LVND
4	+ DENRIEVS	+ ESTMVND:	— L..
	+ DENRIEVS	+ EST . . . .	— LVND
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ GILEBERD*	— LVN
	+ . . . . .	. ILEBERT	..
2	+ DENRIE ..	+ GILLEBER .	..
	+ DENRGVS	GO . RIC†	— LVN
8	+ DENRIEVS:	+ GODRIE:	—: LVNDEN:
	+ D . . . . .	+ GODR.E	— LVND
3	+ DENRIE ..	+ GODRIEVS:†	— L..
6	+ DENRIEVS	+ LEFRED:*	— LVND
	+ DENRIEV .	+ LIFRED:	— . . . . E
	+ DENRIEVS	+ LIFRED:	— LVND:
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ LIEFRED†	— LVND:
10	+ DENRIEVS	+ ORDGAR:†	—: LVNDE:
3	+ DENRIEVS	ORGARVS*	— LVND
3	+ DENRIEVS	OSBERN	— LVND
	+ DENR . . VS	OSEBERN:	— LVN
8	+ DENRIEVS	+ PVLFPIN	— LVND
4	+ DENRIEVS	+ PVLFPINE:	—: LVND
	+ DENRIEVS	+ ROGIER:*†	—: L . . .
8	+ DENRIEVS	+ ROGER	— LVNDE
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ SMÆPIN*†	.. L..
2	+ DENRIEVS	+ SMEPI .	— LVND
6	+ DENRIEVS	+ TOVI:*†	— LVNDE
4	+ DENRI . . .	+ TOVI:	— LVNDENE
	+ . . . RIEVS	+ TOV .	.. . . ND
3	+ DENRIEVS	. . ETMAR*	— LVN
	.. . . . .	+ i . . . pvs	— LVND
	+ DENRIEVS	. LFRAVEN*	— L..

R:

R

R



## UNCERTAIN.\*

*Obverse.*

+DENRIEV.  
+...NRIEVS:

*Reverse.*

SWETMAN:\* —: NA.  
+SWETMAN . . . . R

## NORTHAMPTON.†

+DENR....  
DENRIEVS  
2 +DE.RI.VS

+PAIE...\* . . NORPA:  
PVL..OD: —: NOI.A  
+..... —: NORPA:

## NORWICH.†

5 +DENRIEVS  
DENRIEVS  
2 +DEN.IEVS  
2 DENRI..S  
3 +DENRIEVS  
.....EVS

+AILPI:\*† —: NORP  
+BALD.... —: NOR  
+EDWINE\* . . NOR.IE  
+OTER:\*† —: ..RPIE  
+SVS.MAN\* —: NORP  
..VNSMAN\*† —: NOR

## OXFORD.†

+DEN..EVS  
2 +DENRIEVS

+RAWLF\* . . OXEN  
+SAGRIM:\* —: OXENN

## SANDWICH.\*†

DENRIE:

+GILEBERT:\*† . . SAN

## WINCHESTER.†

+DENRIEV.  
+DENRIE..  
+DENRIEVS  
2 DENRIEVS  
2 .....  
..NRI..  
+DENRIE:  
DENR....  
7 +DENRIEVS;  
2 +DEN.....

+AILPARD:\* —: PINCE:  
+ALFRIEVS\* . . PINI  
+ALFRIE —: PINEE  
+GODPINE . — PI.E.  
+GODPINE . . P.N.  
+G..... . . PINCES  
+D...PIG:\*† —: PINI:  
+KIM...\* . . PIN  
+SAIET\*† —: PINCES  
.OVI: —: PINCES

## YORK.\*†

2 +DENR....  
.....

+.... . —: EVERWIL:  
..... —: EV.

<i>Obverse.</i>		UNCERTAIN(?).	<i>Reverse.</i>	
.....		+ AILRED*	..	.....
..... EVS		+ ALFPINE†	..	...D. <sup>4</sup>
2 + D... RIEVS		+ BRVNMAN*	—	.....
DEN... VS		+ ELWI:*	—	.....
.....		+ GODPINE	..	.....
+ D... RIE. S		+ LEV...	..	ES. NE
DEN.....		+ OD....*	..	.O.D
+ DENRIEVS:		+ RAVENGIAR*	..	..
+ D. NRI:		EPIN:	—:	.....
+ DE... IEV.		+ SAIL:... S	—.	.....
NRIEVS		+ SIWARD*†	—	..... <sup>5</sup>
+ .. NRIE..		+ S. EPPAN...*	..	..
5 + DE. RIE. S		+ STIFNE:	—	.....
NR.....		+ VLF:*	—.	...PI <sup>6</sup>
.....		+ VLFR..	..	.....
D... RI...		+ WIL... IV	..	...P <sup>7</sup>
2 .....		STANCPE:*	—:	..... <sup>8</sup>
DENR....		...NOD:*	—	.....
... RICVS		...PLVD*	—	.....

The several halves of pennies of this type do not differ from the above whole pennies.

Of the above type there are 398 whole and 21 half coins. There are specimens from 16 different mints, besides those which are uncertain. Five of these mints are not mentioned by Ruding. The moneyers' names are 66, of which 52 are not in Ruding's list. The king's title on this type is generally HENRIEV and HENRIEVS. On three coins he is styled HENRIEVS R; on three others HENRIE; and on only one, of ruder work and with a large head, HENRI. One of the coins which read HENRIE is without an inner circle on the obverse, of rude work, and a very irregular shape (see Plate, No. 5). The majority of this type are

<sup>4</sup> Gloucester(?).

<sup>7</sup> Lancaster.

<sup>5</sup> Winchester(?).

<sup>6</sup> York(?).

<sup>8</sup> Sandwich.



irregularly shaped. There are some which are almost square: others have the four corners of the square cut off, and thus become octagons (see Plate, No. 6). But, again, some are *perfectly round*, though the impression even on these is in general unevenly struck. It is to be regretted, that the whole mass of the coins was not weighed previous to their being arranged, so that the average weight might have been accurately ascertained. But, from weighing many of the very worst and rejected ones together, *their* average weight was found to be about  $21\frac{1}{4}$  grains; thus even these had lost only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  grain from circulation. Ten of the least worn and best spread specimens averaged rather more than  $22\frac{1}{4}$  grains. And the heaviest individual coin which has been weighed is 23 grains, and is the only coin of this type which is *above* the proper weight.

Of this, and both the other types found with it, there are specimens from the Chester mint; and they all read so plainly CES, EEST, and CESTR, that there can be no doubt of their being rightly ascribed. There are no coins from the Leicester mint of this type, but of both the other there are specimens, and they read LEEE, LEREL, LERECE, all of which must unquestionably be intended for Leicester. The coins from the Saint Edmundsbury mint are without the letters which usually represent the prænomen, "Saint," and they have ED, EDM, EDMVN. From the Lincoln mint, there are specimens of all three types, and they, without exception, have the name of the town spelt in the Norman way NIL, NIEO, NIEOL, and not once in the Latinised form, which has been hitherto most common. This way of spelling the name of the town upon the coins has been thought to have been the sole work of a certain French moneyer; and, indeed, the Norman spelling may have been *introduced* by a Norman artist, but here are

portions of the names of *several* moneyers. It is, therefore, most probable that, from our early documents having been generally written in Norman French, the Norman mode of writing the name became common.<sup>9</sup> In Ruding's list of the mints of Henry III. he gives several instances of the town being spelt in the Norman manner; but, as he has separated the moneyers and mints, his list gives no help in the difficulty; and it is unfortunate that all the Lincoln coins in the list given above are so badly struck that the whole name of a moneyer is not preserved. It is singular, that the coins, only of this type and of this mint, have the letter C, in the word NICOL, of a rounded form: in every other instance throughout the collection the letter E is of a squared shape. It is uncertain what mint can be intended by the letters NA . . . ? The N cannot well be a blundered H, and intended for HAM, or HAST, for there is the difficulty that the N is well engraved, and that on another coin, from the same die and with the same moneyer, the last and only distinct letter of the mint is R (the first three or four letters of the word being lost). Can it possibly be intended for Newark?

One of the moneyers' names, Stephen, is written STIFNE, and STEPHAN . . (Stephanus?) This latter mode of writing the name is to be noticed, both because of its Latin termination (in common with other moneyers, Alfricus, Godricus, Orgarus), and because the Roman letter P is here made use of. This is the only instance in the collection where the form P is evidently used not to represent the letter W.

---

<sup>9</sup> Camden says, that "the county of Lincolne was called, by the Normans, Nicolshire." And again, that "the Normans called the town of Lincolne, most corruptly, Nichol." Also, Sir Richard Baker, in his *Chronicles of the Kings of England*, talks about "Robert of Nichol, now called Lincolne."



## HENRY I.

TYPE, Hawkins, 262; Ruding, Supp., pl.i. 11, and pl.ii. 6.

NOTE.—The mints and moneyers marked \* are not mentioned by Ruding; and those marked † occur on coins in this collection of both Henry I. and Stephen.

<i>Obverse.</i>	BATH.	<i>Reverse.</i>
+ DENR <sub>1</sub> . . .	+ OSBERN:*	ON BAD:
.....EVS R	.. ———	.. —.
	—————	
	BRISTOL.†	
.... IEVS RE	+ AILWA...*	.. BRI:
	—————	
	CHESTER.†	
..... — RE	+ GILLEMOR:*	——: LES:
	—————	
	DORCHESTER.*	
+ ——— . . . —	OS <sub>1</sub> LRN:	——: DORE
	—————	
	DURHAM.*	
+ ——— . . . :	+ ORDPI:*	——: DVRpAM:
+ ——— —	+ ———	—— ———
	EXETER.*†	
+ ——— — R	+ BRAND:*	——: E...ST:
	—————	
	HEREFORD(?).†	
+ ——— — R:	+ PERIEVS.*†	——: pL...
	—————	
	HUNTINGDON.*	
.. ——— RE	+ DERLIG:	——: pVNTFO:
	—————	
	IPSWICH(?).†	
+ ——— . . .	+ OSPOLDVS:*	——. . IP:10

<sup>10</sup> Gip (?).

X

VOL. XII.

<i>Obverse.</i>		LEICESTER.†		<i>Reverse.</i>	
—	RE	+ W . . . .	—	: LEE:	
		LINCOLN.†			
. . V —	R	+ GODRI .	—	NICOL:	
		LONDON.†			
+ ———	R	+ ALGAR	—	LVNDENE:	
2 + ———	—	+ ———	—	—:	
—	—	. . . R	—	—	
+ — . . . —	-E:	+ GODPINE:	. .	L ———	
+ ———	—	+ DRDGAR: †	—:	—DE	
+ — . . . .	—	+ O — . . .	—	—	
+ ———	—	+ PVLFPARD: *	—:	—ND:	
+ ———	—	+ . . LE ———	—	—	
— . . .	—	. . . .	—	—	
2 + ———	—:	+ PVLGAR:	—:	—:	
+ ———	—	+ ———	—	LVNDEN:	
2 + ———	—	+ RAWLE . *	O .	LVNDE	
2 + DENRIEVIS	R	+ SIGAR	—	LVNDEN:	
2 + ———S:	—	—	—	—	
1 + DENRIE . S	R	+ WVLGAR:	—	LV . DE:	
		NORWICH.†			
. . . . . VS	R:	. . IFNE: *	—:	NOR . .	
		NOTTINGHAM.			
+ DENRIEVS	R	. . . O . NE	—:	SNO:	
		ROMNEY.			
+ DENRIEVS	R	+ PVLF . . . :	—	RVM	
		SANDWICH.*†			
+ DENRIE . .	—	+ GOL . . SE: *	—:	SA . D:	
+ DENRIEVS	R	GODRI:	—:	SAND	
+ ———	—	AL . IHG *	—	S .	



<i>Obverse.</i>		STAMFORD.†	<i>Reverse.</i>
+DENR...VS	R:	.MOR:*	—: STANFOR
<hr/>			
SOUTHWARK.			
2 +DENRIEVS	R	+LEFPINE:	—: SVDPER:
1 +DENRIEVS:		+LEFPINE:	—: S.DPE:
+.....EVS	R	+...LGAR:	.. SVDPE:
+ ————	—	ALF...	.. SVDPER

THETFORD(?) OR BEDFORD(?).			
+p.....	RE	+ALRA..	O . .ETF:

		WINCHESTER.†	
pENR....		+E.....	—: PIN :
+DENRIEVS:		+LEFPINE:	—: PINEE:
+DENRIEVS		+LEFPINE:	—: PINCES:
pENRIEVS	REX	..LPINE:	—: PI...
pENR...S	R	+WARM...*	.. .INCE
.....		+...NT	— .NE

		YORK.*†	
+DEN....S	R	.....ER:	—: ..ER <sup>1</sup> .

UNCERTAIN MINTS.			
+DENR...S	R:	+ALFPINE†	.. E..D:
pEN....S	R:	+...BER..:	.. — S..R.E
...RICVS	R	+STIGAD:*	.. ....

Of the above type there are 58 coins: none were cut into half-pennies. The mints are 21 in number, of which 8 are not in Ruding's list: and the moneyers are 31, of which 13 were unknown to Ruding.

The king's name is generally written HENRIEVS R, or RE. On two coins it is simply HENRIEVS; and in only one instance HENRIEVS REX.

<sup>11</sup> Ever (?).

Most of these coins have been very little in circulation; and the impressions are sharp and fine, though the average weight is only about 20 grains. The heaviest specimen weighs 23 grains, and the lightest only 15 grains. This latter, however, is one of Algar's coins (see below).

On the two coins from Durham the name of the town is spelt as now, DVRHAM. This would decide, if it were necessary, the question of a mint existing in the town of Durham, previous to the reign of Henry II., and confirm the opinion which placed the coins of William I. with DVRRRI and DVNE to this place. These are the only known coins of Henry I. from this mint. Ruding thought that no money had been coined in the Dorchester mint between William II. and William III.; and he also knew of no certain coins from the Huntingdon mint later than William II. This hoard supplies specimens from both these mints. Of this type there is but one Leicester coin, and it has LEEC. There is also a coin of the same type with EEC. I think, therefore, it is very probable that these two words, LEEC and EEC, *on the same type*, are intended for totally different places, and that the former is *not* intended for Legecester, or Chester.

The name of Algar appears among the London moneyers. This is one of the two moneyers mentioned by Ruding, who were "amerced at ten marks of silver for coining or uttering false money during this reign." The coins with his name, though fine, and apparently of the ordinary silver, are much below the legal weight. The three specimens with his name weigh 15, 16, and 20 grains each. Another moneyer of the London mint, Pulgar, has his name written with the initial letter in both the Anglo-Saxon form (P), and the Roman (W); and both forms of this letter are used



throughout the collection, the former, however, being the rule, and the latter the exception.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that, previous to this discovery, the above type was extremely rare, very few specimens being known, though the majority of those few were from different mints. When, therefore, very rare coins are, by a discovered hoard, converted into common ones, and specimens of them are found inscribed with the names of almost every mint then at work throughout the kingdom, it justifies the opinion, that most, if not all, the different types of this period were not engraved at the discretion of one or two moneyers, and issued only by the one or two mints over which they presided (as their rarity seems to indicate), but that, in *all* cases of a new type being issued, the order extended to every mint then at work throughout the realm. It is remarkable, that, of all the rare types of this period, where more than one specimen exists, they are generally found to be *each* from different dies or *different mints*.

---

STEPHEN.

TYPE, Hawkins, 270; Ruding, pl.i.17.

		BRISTOL.*†			
		<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>	
3	+STIEFNE	R:	+GVRI . . . *	ON:	BRIS:
<hr/>					
CAMBRIDGE.*					
	STI . N .	REX:	+SAMA . *	. .	GRE .
<hr/>					
CANTERBURY.†					
2	STIEFNE	RE	+ABELIN *	—	CANT
	+STIEFNE	RE . .	+ÆDPARD: *	—	CANDE
2	STIEFNE	R .	+AL . . . .	—	CANR

CANTERBURY — *continued.*

<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>	
+S.....E		+B.....	— EA:
2 +STIFNE	R..	+GE.FREI	— EA..
ST...NE		+PILL..	.. EAN
2 +STIEFNE:		+RODBERT:	—: EA
+S....N.		+WI....	— EA..
2 +...EFNE	R	+...ÞESE*	— EA
+S...FNE	RE	+..ELN	— .ANT
..IEFNE	R	..GER	— EA
.T..NE	REX	..WAR.	— E..

## CARDIFF.

...FNE	REX	+ERE...L.*	— E.RD:
S.IFNE	REX	+PILLE.	— EARDI:
+ST.EFNE	R <sup>W</sup>	+WILEAL..E*	— EA.D:

## CHESTER.†

.TEFNE	R	.....	— EEST:
2 +S.....E	R:	+.....	— EES:

## CHICHESTER.

2 STIFNE		+GODPINE:*	—: EILES:
----------	--	------------	-----------

## COLCHESTER.\*

+S..E..E	RE:	+A..PINE:	— .OL.E
2 STIEFN.		+ÆDPARD	— E.L.
5 +STIFNE	REX	+EDPARD	— COLE

## EXETER.†

3 +ST...NE		AL..R	—: EXLES
...FNE	REX	...AR:	—: EXLE
..IFNE	R..	.....	.. .XLES
+ST...N.		+A....	.. EXE:
...EFN.		+F....	.. EXE
+ .TIEFN.		...T	— EXL
.TIEFNE		...ER	— EX.

## St. EDMUNDSBURY.†

8 +STIEFNE:		+GILEBERT:*†	—: EDM:
+S.....NE	R	G...BERT	— .D.



<i>Obverse.</i>		GLOUCESTER.†	<i>Reverse.</i>	
2	+STIFNE +STIFNE	REX REX	+G.LLEBERT +....BERT — —	GLO: ..OPE
		UNCERTAIN.		
	..IFNE	REX	....ERT:	—: GO... <sup>12</sup>
		HASTINGS.*		
9	+STIEFNE STIFNE	RE R..	+SAPINE:* S.PINE	—: pAST — .....
		HEREFORD.†		
3	+STIEFNE	RE:	+EDRIEVS:†	—: pEREF:
2	+STIEFNE	RE:	+E.RIE:†	—: pEREFO:
	.....NE	RE	+S.....	.. pERE
		IPSWICH.†		
	.....NE	RE	AD....*	.. GIPE
	STIEFNE		EDMVND*	— GI..
3	+STIE...		+OSBERN*†	— GIPE
		LANCASTER(?). <sup>*13</sup>		
	+STIFNE	REX:	+PILL..	. — (L)ANSA
	....FN.		+..LEM:	— . ANPA
	..IFNE	RE:	+PILLE.	.. (L)ANPA
		LEICESTER.†		
7	+STIFNE	REX:	+SAMAR:*	—: LERELE
	+STIFN.	.EX:	+S.MV..	—: LERELE
		LEWES.		
3	+STIEFNE	RE:	+pERREVI:*	—: LEPE:
	+STIEFNE	R	+..SBERN	— LE..
3	+STIEFNE	R	+PI.LEM	— LEPE
	.....		+SL....	— LEPE

<sup>12</sup> In Ruding there is a mint GOVE.<sup>13</sup> The initial letter of this mint is, in all the above, indistinct.

<i>Obverse.</i>		LINCOLN.†	<i>Reverse.</i>
2	+STIEFNE:	+ASLAL*	... .E.O:
3	+S.....	+GLADENN:*	...: NIE.
	.....	... F	...: NIEOL
3	.....	+ .A....	... NIE
<hr/>			
		LONDON.†	
	+STIEFNE:	+ADELARD:*	...: LVN
2	..IEFNE	+ALFPINE†	... .ND
	STIEFNE R:	ALFRED*	...: LVN
6	+STIEFNE	BALDEPIN:*†	...: LVN
	+STIFNE REX	+BALD....	... LVND
2	+STIEFNE R	+BRIEMARR:*†	... LVN
13	+STIEFNE	+BRIEMAR	... LVN
2	+S...FNE	+BRIEMAR	... LVND
	+STIFNE RE.	+BRIETMAR:	...: LVN
	+STIEFNE	+BR..TMAR	... LV
3	+STIEFNE	+BRIT..R	... LV
2	+STIEFNE	+DERREMAN*	... LV
6	+STIEFNE:	+DEREMAN:†	...: LV
4	.TIEFNE R	+DEREMAN	... LV
	.....NE RE	..REMAN	... ..
3	STIEFNE R	+ESTMVND*	... LVN
3	..I.FNE RX	+ESTMVND	... LV
3	+STIEFNE RE	+ESTMVND†	... LVN
	..IE.NE R	ESTMVND	... ..
	+STIE...	+GODI...	... .ON: <sup>14</sup>
	...EFNE	GODRIIE*	... L..
3	+STIEFNE	+GODRIE†	... LVN
	+STIEFNE:	+GODRIE:	... L..ND
7	+STIEFNE R	+GODRIEVS:†	... LVN
3	+STEFANVS R	+LIEFRED:*†	... LVND:
	+ST...NE R	+LE....	... LVND
	...EFNE	+ROGIER*†	... .ND
2	+STIEFNE	+SMÆPIN:*†	...: LVN:
5	+STIEFNE	+SMEAPIN	... LV
	+S....NE R	..MEAPIN	... LV
	.....NVS R	+SMEPINE	... LVN
3	+STIEFNE R	..EPINE	... LVN
	+STIE.NE RE	..EPINE	... LVN
6	+STIEFNE	+TOVI†	... LVNDE

<sup>14</sup> London(?).



LONDON—*continued*.

<i>Obverse.</i>			<i>Reverse.</i>
.....NE	R	. OVI	— LV...
STIFNE	RE	.....	.. LVNDE
+SIEFNE	R:	+.....EM:	—: LV

## NORTHAMPTON.\*†

+ST.....	+.....	—: NORðAM:
----------	--------	------------

## NORWICH.†

2 +STIEFNE		+ÆDSTAN:*	NOR...:
.TIEFNE	R	+AILWI*†	— NO...IE
.....	RE	+AL....	— NORP
11 +STIFNE	REX:	+ETSTAN:*	—: NORPI:
.....E	REX:	+ETREI*	—: .. RPIL:
6 +STIFNE	R..	+OTEREDE*†	—: NORPI:
.....NE	REX	+S.N...A.*†	.. NOR
+STIE...		.ILMV..	— NO.

## OXFORD.†

6 +STIEFNE	RE	+GAPAN:*	—: OXEN
...FNE	..X	+GAPAN	— .....
3 +STIEFNE	R:	+SPE...NG	—: OXE:

## SANDWICH.†

ST....	REX	+GA....	— SA
2 +STH.NE	REX:	+GILLEBERT:†	—: SA
2 +STIEFNE		+GOD..R.I	— S.
2 +ST....		+PA.....	.. SAN
+STIEFNE		PVLFPOLD*	— SAN
STIE...	R	+PVLFPOLD:	—: S:
6 +STIE...		+SAGR...*	—: SA: SA:
.....NE		+STAN....*	— S
.....		.ALF...	— S
.....		.AN...IN	— SA
.....		..G...N	— SA
.....		..STACE*	— S
ST...N.		...O..N	— SA

## SHAFTESBURY.\*

3 +STIEFNE	RE:	+RILAR...*	—: SAFT:
------------	-----	------------	----------

VOL. XII.

Y

## SHREWSBURY.\*

<i>Obverse.</i>			<i>Reverse.</i>
2 + STIEFNE	REX:	+RODBERT	—: SROB:
		—	
		STAFFORD.*	
+ STIFNE	REX:	+ GODRIE:	—: STAFO:
		—	
		STAMFORD.†	
+ STIEFNE	RE:	+ LEFSI:*	—: STANF:
+ STIEFNE	RE	+ LEFSI	.. STANFO

## SOUTHWARK OR SUDBURY(?).

2 + STIEFNE		+AL....	— SVD
+ STIE...		+ GDE.... *	.. VD
5 + STIEFNE	R:	+ PVL.F.OLD:	— SV:
2 STIEFN.		..L.PINE:	—: SVD
2 + S...FN.		+ ....ER	— SVD

## SUDBURY.

+ S...FNE	R	+ GOD...	.. SVDB
-----------	---	----------	---------

## TAUNTON.\*

+ STIEFNE:		+ ALFRED:*	—: TAN
.....	REX	....ED	— TANT
.....		.....	.. TANTV:

## THETFORD.

2 + STIFNE	REX	+ B. LDEPIN:	—: TETF:
+ STIEFN.		+ B.....	— TETF
+ STIEFNE	R:	+ ODRE:*	—: TETFOR
5 + STIFNE	REX	+ OD..	—: TET: FORT:
STIEF.E		+ ....F.T	.. TET:

## WARWICK.\*

4 + STIEFNE	R:	+ EDRED:*	—: PARPI:
4 + STIEFNE	RE:	+ EVERARD:*	—: PAR:



## WILTON.

*Obverse.*

2 + STIEFNE RE:  
 6 + STIEFNE R:  
 + STIE.NE RE:  
 + .....NE  
 ..... R

+ FALCI . . \*  
 + TOMA .  
 . . MAS:  
 + TVR . . . . \*  
 + TV . . . .

*Reverse.*

—: !..LTVN:  
 —: PILTV  
 —: PILTVN  
 .. PIL  
 .. ..LT

## WINCHESTER.†

6 + STIEFNE:  
 + .....NE R  
 4 + STIFNE REX  
 2 + STIEFNE R  
 .....  
 5 + STIEFNE R  
 6 + STIEFNE  
 2 + S....NE RE  
 5 + STIEFNE  
 4 + STIFNE REX  
 8 + STIEFNE  
 + STIEFNE R  
 STIFNE R..  
 ....FNE

+ ALPOLD;\*  
 + A...LD  
 + ALPOLD  
 + EKEPI.\*  
 + EA....\*  
 + GEFREI;\*  
 PILPIG:\*†  
 + L..IPPI.\*  
 + ROGIRVS  
 + ROGIR:  
 + SAIET:\*†  
 + SIPARD:  
 + SIWA...†  
 .OLFE.A.

—: PIN:  
 —: .IN  
 —: PINCE  
 —: .INE  
 —: PINT  
 —: PINE  
 —: PINE  
 —: PINE  
 —: PIN  
 —: PINCE  
 —: PINEES  
 —: PINE:  
 .. ..EE  
 .. .INE

## WORCESTER.\*

+ .TIFNE  
 2 + STIFNE REX:  
 .TIFNE R

+ GO...  
 + PVLFRIE:\*  
 PVLFR.E

...: PIREE:  
 —: PIREE  
 —: .....

## YORK.†

.....NE RE  
 2 STI.NE REX  
 2 + STIEFNE R  
 2 S..FNE REX  
 4 + S...FNE ..X  
 ...FNE REX  
 STIEFNE

+ MARTIN\*  
 + OTBO...\*  
 + SIBERN\*  
 + TVRSTAN\*  
 + VLF:\*  
 + ....  
 ....F

.. ..ER  
 .. .V..PIC  
 .. ..ER  
 —: EVER  
 —: EVERPIC  
 —: EVERP:  
 —: EVER:

## UNCERTAIN.

3 + STIEFN.  
 + STI.... R

+ ÆDGAR\*†  
 + AILRIE\*

ON ....<sup>15</sup>  
 —: ..O..

<sup>15</sup> London(?).

## UNCERTAIN—continued.

<i>Obverse.</i>		<i>Reverse.</i>	
+STIFN.	...	+ALFR.F	.. O. :
....NE	R	+ALFR.A.	— . . . .
ST.....		+ALG.R*†	.. . . . 16
+STIEFNE	RE:	+ARNPI:*†	— . . . . 17
+STIE.NE	RE	+AV...IM*	.. — . . .
.....		ÞVRDAN*	.. . . .
+S.....		+OSLAL.*	.. — . . .
+....NE	RE	+PITRIE*	— . . . .
+....NE		+..LFPARD*	— . . . . 18
2 STI..NE	R	+RAPVLF*	— . . . .
2 STIE.NE	RE	ROBERT	— . . . .
+ST.E.NE		SAGA.*	.. . . . E <sup>19</sup>
2 STIEFN.		+SAVARE*	— . . . .
....FN.		+SMA....*	.. . . . N: <sup>20</sup>
+S...FN.	...	SPEDN...*	.. . . .
+STIEFNE		+STA....*	.. . . . NS
+S...EFNE		+SVNFMAN*†	.. . . . <sup>21</sup>
2 +S...FNE		+..AFARI...*	.. . . . EE <sup>22</sup>
2 +STIFNE	RE.	...ÞE	— . . . .
....NE		..REÞIE*	— . . . .
.....		...EIN	— . . . .
+ST....	.EX	..A.L.I.L	— . . . .
.TEFNE		...SAR	— . . . .
.....	R	..ALEPE*	— . . . .
+STI.FNE	R	..VMAS	— . . . .
....FN.		.RAMAN.*	.. . . .
STIEFN.		...TPI	— . . . .
.TIFNE	REX	...IDRI*	— . . . .
.TIFNE	...	...NALD*	— . . . .
.TIEFN.		....VN	— . A. . <sup>23</sup>

## STEPHEN.—HALF PENNIES.

TYPE, Hawkins, 270.

There are several halves of pennies, but the legends on them do not exhibit any moneyer or mint different from the above.

<sup>16</sup> Algar on Lund(?).<sup>19</sup> Sagar on Lunde(?).<sup>22</sup> Winchester(?).<sup>17</sup> Lincoln(?).<sup>20</sup> London(?).<sup>23</sup> Canterbury(?).<sup>18</sup> London(?).<sup>21</sup> Norwich(?).



Of Stephen there were 631 whole coins, and 11 halves, which had been current for half the penny. The number of mints are no less than 33, of which 12 are not mentioned by Ruding: and the moneyers' names amount to 77, of which 68 were unknown to Ruding.

The king's name is generally written STIEFNE, STIEFNE R, or RE, and STIFNE REX. On one coin it is spelt SIEFNE R; on four coins it is written STEFANVS R, a way of spelling the name (with an F) which has hitherto been unknown; and the Latin termination is extremely rare. One of these last-mentioned coins has, with the same obverse as the rest, a different moneyer on the reverse (see Plate, figs. 10, 11).

The average weight of many of the worst preserved of these coins was  $20\frac{3}{4}$  grains, so that they were but  $1\frac{1}{4}$  grain below the legal weight. But ten of the best-struck coins averaged rather more than  $22\frac{3}{4}$ , or about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a grain above the proper weight. And, of individual coins, two weigh  $23\frac{3}{4}$ , two 23, and one  $22\frac{3}{4}$  grains. This last is one of the square-shaped pieces (see Plate, fig. 7).

On the reverses, the centre of the cross (though generally without it) sometimes has a star of four and five points; the points in some instances being double.

There are, of the Cardiff(?) mint, two coins which, in the workmanship both of the head and legend, are very different from every other coin in the collection. Their peculiarities, as they are extremely rare, have been hitherto unnoticed. The letters are of the character of those on the early Saxon coins, having no serifs, and the portrait considerably more rude than usual (see Plate, fig. 9).

As the two or three last letters of the name, commencing GO . . . , are obliterated, it is uncertain in what mint the coin was struck. In Ruding's list of Stephen's mints are

found the letters GOVE(?); but, as he has separated the mints and moneyers, there is no means of ascertaining (in the absence of the coin itself) whether this is from the same place. It is most probable that GOVE is a blundered attempt at GLOVE (Gloucester). One coin has the mint GRE, which has been ascribed to Cambridge. In Domesday-book the town of Cambridge is written Grentebriðge; but on the coins of the two first Williams the name is spelt GRA, and GRANT.

It is unfortunate that the initial letters of the words which are supposed to represent Lancaster are, on every specimen, imperfectly struck. It must, therefore, at present, remain doubtful to what mint these coins really belong. On a penny of Henry II. (according to Ruding), there are the letters LANSS, which, one would think, must be intended for Lancaster; and LANSS is very similar to (L)ANSA. It should be noticed, that, of those coins *with the same moneyer*, one has its mint spelt (L)ANSA, and the other two (L)ANPA!

It is uncertain what the letters SA:SA: are intended for. The coin is not double struck, and is the only one which is thus written. The moneyer, SAGR., is different from any on the Sandwich coins. Sagrim was an Oxford moneyer of Henry I.

One of the coins from the Shaftesbury mint, with the legend almost gone, is apparently of a very debased coinage. Its appearance is that of lead; and though it has not the ready flexibility of mere lead, it has also not the musical ring of the other coins. Its weight is 22 grains, which is only  $\frac{1}{2}$  a grain below the standard.

There is but one coin with SVDB; and this is the only one that can positively be ascribed to Sudbury, though there are a great number with S, SV, and SVD. As the



position of the head and figure on this coin, and also the moneyer, differs much from all those which have the last-mentioned letters only, all those without the distinguishing letter, B, are given to Southwark.

There are four coins with the name PARPI as the mint: these letters are unquestionably intended for Warwick. Again, there are some with only PAR; and these also, without doubt, belong to Warwick; because the moneyer Everard is well known to have been a moneyer at Warwick, for his tombstone tells us so (see Ruding, vol. ii. 224). As there has been a difficulty in separating the coins of Warwick and Wareham, it is well to notice these facts, even though they do not at present clear up the difficulty. I believe there are but one or two coins which raise the dispute for Wareham. One is that singular and rare coin of Henry I. with DERLINE ON PARA. (Hawkins pl. xx. 266).

TWO COINS OF HENRY NEWBURGH EARL OF  
WARWICK? AND SOME COINS SUPPOSED TO BE  
BARONIAL.

No. on Plate.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Weight
13	+PERERIE:	(+GO)DRIEVS: ON LV	22½
Wood-cut.	+PERERIE	+GODR...VS: ON LV	22½
14	...ILDICOI:	+ALLRED ... .VD:	18¼
15	....REF-I-L.	+..... ... .T=:	18
16	No legend at all.	Several letters, but indistinct.	19¼
17	Legend indistinct.	..... ON: L..	21½

It is uncertain by whose authority these coins were struck. Some numismatists think that they are coins of Henry I., or of Stephen, and the work of illiterate and blundering artists; but there is very little ground for this supposition. the two coins inscribed PERERIC appear to have been little, if at all, in circulation; and, from their inscriptions being perfectly legible, they are the only ones from which any reasonable argument can be drawn. It is most improbable that the word PERERIC is a blundered attempt at DENRIE. The first and third letters, P and R, are very distinct, and, for the period, so well engraved, that the first is clearly not an upturned D, nor the last a blundered N. Moreover, such a wide deviation from the ordinary spelling of the *king's name is, at this period, without example.* The usual variations in the spelling of the name so well known and feared as the monarch's, consisted merely of an accidental *omission* of one or two of the letters. Besides, the same moneyer's name appears on coins of Henry I. as well as of Stephen, and appears also in connexion with the same mint (London); the workmanship, too, of both is very similar. It may, therefore, with good reason be presumed, that the same moneyer would not spell the king's name in two so different ways, but that he intended the name PERERIC for a totally different person.<sup>1</sup>

Dismissing then the idea that these two coins are of Henry I., the question is, by whom were they struck? There is no person to whom the name Pereric, or Wereric,

---

<sup>1</sup> It has been said, that these coins could not have been struck by a subject, because no subject would dare to issue a coin with his name inscribed over a head which was *crowned*, and which was similar to the bust on the regal coins. But of this there is a well-known instance, in the coin attributed to Bishop Henry, of Winchester, where the head, with a crozier before it, is also crowned.



can with any probability be applied but to the Earl of Warrewick.<sup>2</sup> We know that the Newburgh Earls of Warwick were persons of high position and importance during the reigns of Henry I. and of Stephen, and were some of the most powerful barons of that time; but whether or not they ever had permission to issue coins inscribed with their name, or whether or not they issued them in defiance of the royal authority, we are unable to show from history. All that is asserted is, that here are two coins inscribed with a name which is very similar to Warwick, and is similar to no other name of which we have any account; also, that the Earls of Warwick of this period were persons by whom, from their rank and position, the striking and issuing of coins would not be more extraordinary, or the occasion of striking them be to us more obscure, than by Earls Robert and Eustace, or even by Bishop Henry; and that, therefore, until a better claimant shall appear, the coins with Pereric should be placed amongst these last-mentioned pennies as being, with the strongest probability, coins of an Earl of Warwick. It is, however, difficult to say whether they were struck during the reign of Henry I. or of Stephen. If they were issued with the king's sanction (which the royal moneyer in connexion with a royal mint, and the weight and quality of the silver, seems to indicate that they were), they must then have been issued during the reign of Henry I., either by Henry of Newburgh, the first earl, which is most likely, or by his son Roger; the former of whom, especially, up to the time of his death in 1123, lived in the closest intimacy

---

<sup>2</sup> See at page 150 on the general use, throughout this collection, of the Saxon P instead of the Roman W, which shews that the word is correctly read Wereric, or Warwick. Also the use of the letter E instead of A was common during the prevalence of Norman usages in England.

and friendship with his sovereign. But if, on the contrary, they were issued in defiance of the king, they were struck during the reign of Stephen by Roger, the second earl, who, adhering to the Empress Maud, opposed Stephen during the whole of his reign.<sup>3</sup> The type, which is similar to the coins of Stephen found with them, favours this latter view, though it does not overcome the difficulty of a royal moneyer and mint being inscribed on a coin which was struck in defiance of the king.

The remaining four coins of the above list (Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17) have their inscription so imperfect, that it is in vain to say, positively, by whom they were issued. From the few letters that can be made out, and from their weight, they do not appear to be any of the ordinary coins of Stephen. We are told by the historians who lived during the reign of Stephen, and it has ever since been the popular notion, that most of the barons of that time coined and issued money; which money was often either light or debased. Without making any positive assertion, that the above are some of the said barons' money, I would

---

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Dugdale says, that Henry of Newburgh, first Earl of Warwick, was one of those great men who, in 1081, qualified the anger of William I. towards Robert Curthose, his eldest son, so that a fair composure then ensued betwixt them. He was also of great familiarity with Henry, the youngest son of William I., and stuck closest to him for his obtaining the crown upon the death of William II. Moreover, among the witnesses to that notable charter of Henry I., which confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, he is recorded to be one. He died June 20, 1123.

Roger, the second Earl of Warwick, amongst other of the great nobility, was a witness to the charter of King Stephen's laws (1st of Stephen). He was not a warlike man; but adhered to the Empress Maud, and was at the siege of Winchester, in the sixth year of Stephen. He died June 11, 1153, the year that Henry II. came to England, "and for whose better welcome, Gundred, the Countess of Warwick, ousted Stephen from Warwick Castle, and delivered that fort to him."



merely express my belief in the old adage, that "there is never smoke without some fire," and that there must be some good foundation for the report about the barons' light money; and it is not impossible, but even probable, that these may be some of those coins which caused so much trouble and loss both to Stephen and to his subjects.

## XV.

## CHINESE BANK-NOTE.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SEND you a short notice about a *chaou*, or private bank-note, issued in the city of Soo-chow-Foo by a merchant or banker, and which is one of the last representatives of the vicissitudes of paper money in China. These pieces are now no longer issued by state authority, but are passed into circulation by private *hongs* and merchants for the purposes of money. Several bills, of a kind like the present, have been engraved by the Baron de Chaudoir, in his *Recueil de Monnaies de la Chine du Japon et de la Corée, d'Annan et de Java. Folio. St. Petersburg, 1842. Pls. XXI. and LIV. p. 55*, where will be also found the History of the Paper Money of China, principally extracted from the *précis* of Klaproth, which has lately been translated and embodied in the Transactions of the American Oriental Society.

The note, which is the subject of my letter to you, is of very recent origin, and was presented to the British Museum by Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.

The manner in which it has been produced appears to have been as follows:—The blue portions, which were the common portion of all the notes, comprising the border,

name of the firm, and description of the bill, has been taken off from a wood block, spaces being left for the insertion of the values, which a clerk or partner inserted in black Indian ink, from a camel-hair pencil. Over these essential portions has been stamped the partners' seal, from a wood or stencil block, in vermilion, in order to prevent any fraud or change of value, and the words for value are written in their full form. The whole appears to have been cut out of a book, like one of our banker's cheque-books, as is evident from an inspection of the papers.

The two large characters on the top of the bill, reading, "Yu Shang," "*Abundant Reward*," are the name or designation of the firm which issued the note. These names, which are fanciful names assumed by houses of business (such as the curious signs mentioned on tokens in the past century), indicated to the holders the place where change was to be obtained.

The vertical column of characters on the right side reads, "Ping peaou chih tsèen yih tsèen wăn." "*A bank note worth one thousand tsèen*," or *cash*, as they call the well-known circular Chinese bronze and copper pieces with square holes; one thousand of which, more or less according to the rate of exchange, are worth about a dollar, or 5s. English.

A large rectangular seal, placed lozenge-wise, and containing a long inscription in the *chuen tsze*, or seal-character, is placed over the value, "1,000," and another circular seal over the word "*wan*," or "*cash*."

The three characters a little to the left of this read, "Ching tsèen peaou," "*Town Bank Bill*," and the characters in the little oblong, raised higher, and a little to the left, read, "Chae tsèen yih tsèen wăn," "*Money value one thousand cash*."

On the other side, in a similar perpendicular line, is



written, "Taou Kwang nën sze nën kew yue shih jih so tsze shih sze haon," "*Dated the 10th day of the 9th moon of the 24th year of the reign of Taon Kwang, the 14th issue, A.D. 1844.*" Over the cyphers are again stamps.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

S. BIRCH.

17th September, 1849.



XVI.

UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF RICHARD III.

THE wood-cut at the head of this paper exhibits a penny of Richard III., in the cabinet of Mr. Rashleigh, which is remarkable, not only on account of its being unique and unpublished as to the place of mintage, but also as being superior, in point of condition, to any other specimen known to collectors of the present day. Although the penny of Richard III. seems now to be less-rare than it was formerly, yet it is still as difficult as ever to meet with it in even tolerable condition.

The only pennies of this king which have hitherto been described are of the mints of Durham and York. The varieties are as follows:—

DURHAM.

1. *Obv.*—RICARD DI GRA REX AN (in some specimens ANG or ANGL). The letter S on the breast, being the initial of Sherwood, bishop from 1483 to 1494, at whose mint they were struck. Mint mark, a fleur-de-lis.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS DIRRAM. The letter D in the centre of the cross.

## YORK.

2. *Obv.*—RICARD DI GRA REX ANG. The letter T on the right of the neck, and a key on the left, to indicate Thomas Rotherham, archbishop from 1480 to 1500. Mint mark, a rose.
- Rev.*—CIVITAS EBORACI. A quatrefoil in the centre of the cross.
3. Exactly similar to the preceding, but with a boar's head for mint mark.
4. Similar to No. 2, but the symbols on each side of the neck are different. They are not distinct, but look like the letter T on the right, and a trefoil (instead of a key) on the left. This coin is in the Museum collection.
5. *Obv.*—RICARD . . . . . ANGL. Mint mark, a boar's head.
- Rev.*— . . . TAS . . O . . CI. A quatrefoil in the centre of the cross.
6. *Obv.*—RIC . . . . . NGL. Mint mark, united rose and sun.
- Rev.*— . . . TAS EBO . . . . . A quatrefoil in the centre of the cross.

It will be observed, that Nos. 1 to 4 are coins from episcopal mints. No. 5 is in the cabinet of Mr. Cuff. It is unique; and, at the time he became possessed of it, was considered to be the only known specimen of a penny of Richard III. from a regal mint. No. 6 was described by Mr. Hawkins, from a specimen in the British Museum; and, if it be really a coin of Richard III., it is another specimen of the regal mintage. But, on examining the coin, I find that, although the portrait is good, and the mint mark singularly distinct and well struck, the legend on the obverse is so extremely indistinct, that it appears to me impossible to pronounce, with certainty, what the name of the king may be. And as the mint mark, united rose and sun, occurs upon groats and half groats of



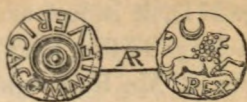
Henry VII. of his first coinage, which has the open crown (see Hawkins, page 171), it is just as probable that the penny in question belongs to that king as to Richard III. Until the appearance of Mr. Rashleigh's penny, which I now proceed to describe, the one in Mr. Cuff's cabinet might, therefore, still have been regarded as the only unquestionable specimen struck at a royal mint. Mr. Rashleigh's coin, however, furnishes another indubitable example, and is doubly interesting because it supplies the desideratum of a penny of Richard III. from the mint of the capital.

## LONDON

7. *Obv.*—RICARD DI GRA REX ANGL. Mint mark, a boar's head.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS LONDON.

The condition of this interesting coin is as remarkable as its rarity. I am not aware of any other specimen of the pennies of Richard III. on which the legend is perfectly legible throughout on both sides. They are always either so ill struck, or so clipped, that many of the letters are not to be made out; and the legends on those pennies in the preceding list, which are given entire, have not been transcribed from any single specimen, but are made out from a comparison of several. But on the coin in Mr. Rashleigh's collection, although it is a little defective in a part of the circumference, there is not a single letter, either on obverse or reverse, but can be most distinctly read; and it may safely be pronounced to unite the two important characteristics of being unique as to variety, and unrivalled as to condition.



## XVII.

## ANOTHER TYPE OF VERICUS.

MR. TUPPER has kindly forwarded for our inspection another ancient British coin just discovered by a labourer on Farley Heath. In type it differs from all others known, but in weight and metal it closely assimilates to that engraved in the "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xii. p. 67. It may be thus described :—

*Obv.*—VERICA COMMI F around an object probably intended to represent a circular buckler or target.

*Rev.*—REX. A lion bounding to the right ; above, a crescent.  
R.

Notwithstanding the addition of the letter A, we think the appropriation of this coin to Vericus cannot be rationally disputed. The numismatist will not require to be reminded, that on many Gaulish coins we have terminations in A;<sup>1</sup> and it is needless to insist, that the Romans took great liberties with proper names, while the Roman style and formula of legend on this coin are sufficiently obvious. The new letter, however, may form no portion of the name, and some subsequent discovery may clear up the difficulty; in the mean while, it is our duty to chronicle the finding of this unique coin, and to give an accurate representation of it.

<sup>1</sup> See Mionnet's Description, Chêfs Gaul. tome 1<sup>re</sup> ; and Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes, Gallia, *passim*.

5137 8  
L.V.















This book should be returned to  
the Library on or before the last date  
stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it  
beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

Widener Library



3 2044 098 366 016